

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

HISTORY, HUMANITY, AND TRUTH

HON. HENRY J. HYDE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, the Jefferson Lectureship is the highest honor the Federal Government bestows upon an individual for achievement in the humanities. Last month, it deservedly but belatedly was bestowed upon Robert Conquest.

While many Western scholars balked at investigating Soviet atrocities under Stalin, Mr. Conquest was one of the very first to accurately record them in his book "The Great Terror."

As further vindication of Mr. Conquest's historical accuracy, I would like to share excerpts from his Jefferson Lecture on "History, Humanity, and Truth" with my colleagues. Because—if "without truth in history, humanity is no longer humanity" then indeed, Mr. Robert Conquest has ensured that humanity endures.

[From the National Review, June 7, 1993]

HISTORY, HUMANITY, AND TRUTH

(By Robert Conquest)

It does seem especially appropriate for the Jefferson Lecture to be delivered (not for the first time) by a historian. Jefferson himself urged that the basic education of the members of a modern democracy should be, as he put it, "chiefly historical." His reasoning was that history, "by apprising them of the past, will enable them to judge of the future; it will avail them of the experience of other times and other nations; it will qualify them as judges of the actions and designs of men."

Jefferson and his colleagues were well read in the history of England, of Europe, of the ancient world—in fact of the world as a whole insofar as it was available to them; and as can be seen in their writings and speeches, they assumed a similar knowledge or receptivity to such knowledge in the whole American political milieu.

As Jefferson says, they drew lessons from this rich and varied past. But they did not apply these automatically and uncritically to their own place and period. They sought perspective rather than infallible revelations. The Founding Fathers were, in Carl Bridenbaugh's words, "men of intellect, not intellectuals"; or as Arthur Schlesinger Sr. put it, "men of vision without being visionaries."

In many respects, while much more is now known, our citizenry is less well educated in historical matters than in Jefferson's time: certainly less than Jefferson would have wished. In part, no doubt, this is due to defects in the school system about which there seems to be general agreement. But it is also the case that history at the academic level is under a variety of pressures which tend to remove it from its status as one of the humanities without otherwise improving it. In part this may be because "intellectuals" and "visionaries" are still with us.

II

History is not some past from which we are cut off. We are merely at its forward edge as

it unrolls. And only if one is without historical feeling at all can one think of the intellectual fads and fashions of one's own time as a "habitation everlasting." We may feel that at last, unlike all previous generations, we have found certitude. They thought so too.

We should look at the broader problem: at the never-ending urge for systematizations as wholly explanatory in the field of the humanities. Eric Temple Bell, the mathematician, once wrote that "the consuming hunger of the uncritical mind for what it imagines to be certainty or finality impels it to feast upon shadows in the prevailing famine of substance."

We spoke of fads and fashions. Fanaticisms and factiousness, too, unfortunately. The Soviet experience was, of course, a terrible example of what can happen when an idea gets out of hand.

III

With us, feeling for the past is weaker and vaguer than it ought to be. But though the roots could do with some watering, they have not been cut. With the Russians the case was far worse. Not only were they submitted to a long and horrifying experience based on a false historical theory; they were also robbed of knowledge of the historical facts on which a society must subsist; and they felt it keenly.

This destruction came in two modes. First, a supposititious "class" scheme was imposed on every public fact: so that, for example, a wholly invented class of kulaks was created and real people were assigned to it, and then repressed by the million.

Then, in the 1930s, not mere distortion, but total falsification became the norm. The experiment had proved a disastrous failure, but this was not to be admitted. Two Soviet Unions henceforth existed—one the reality of poverty, exploitation, terror, falsehood, sycophancy; the other the fantasy of posters, the media, demonstrations, splendid statistics, public enthusiasm. History became part of the fantasy, culminating in the thoroughly falsified 1939 "Short Course" History of the Communist Party, which sold forty million copies the world over—became, in fact, the bible of the world Communist movement.

At one level, everyone in the Soviet Union not battered into mindlessness felt the falsity; and this disjunction became stronger and stronger. Fifteen or twenty years ago, when one spoke with Soviet delegates here, one came increasingly to notice a look of shame as they presented to Westerners what were not just lies, but obvious, contemptible, and discreditable lies—and this was an important factor in the moral and intellectual crisis which matched in its effects the material failure of the system. For while Russia was deprived of its history there remained a common longing for the truth—not merely in the abstract, but centered on a deep desire to know the real circumstances of the forces which had destroyed relatives and friends.

Until a few years ago, this aching gap could only be filled by foreigners, writing in the West. This of course also involved the refuting of the Stalinist and sub-Stalinist myth which had penetrated our own countries.

It is difficult to make clear to the present generation how deeply it affected much of the Western intelligentsia. Not only its pervasiveness, but also its virulence: as Orwell remarked, those expressing "mild distaste for slave labor camps or one-candidate elections" were often treated as "either insane or actuated by the worst of motives." As he says, "anti-Communist" was usually preceded by "rabid."

There were many reasons for these Western delusions about the USSR: the ideological pull of the idea of state socialism, the anti-Western bias within an alienated intelligentsia which could see nothing but good in its enemy and opposite. For such minds genuine knowledge of the Soviet Union had vanished; emptied of reality the country appeared, as in those old maps of America and Africa, as the home of mythical beasts—Socialism, Workers' Power, and so on. Moreover, in academe one can also note, harmful to this day, intellectual investment is fallacy, long after its refutation: a phenomenon by no means uncommon even in the hard sciences. But perhaps even more important was mere parochialism—as Joseph Brodsky once pointed out, some people in the West were simply not up to facing the reality of the Soviet past. And indeed if one does not know, or ignores, a good deal of world history, one cannot believe some of the things that could and did happen.

It is a remarkable fact that some of the soundest understanding of the Soviet phenomenon, even in the West, came from novelists—George Orwell, Arthur Koestler, and a few others. This was surely because an effort not merely of the intellect, but also of the imagination, was needed for a true view.

It seems clear that serious Western research, gradually establishing the truth about the Soviet background and motivations, had powerful effects on our own political and intellectual classes—Democrat and Republican, Conservative and Labour, Socialist and Christian Democrat—and contributed to sound policy. In the Soviet Union itself, such work penetrated either in English or in Russian editions printed in the West, or in samizdat translations. Educated Russians are touchingly grateful, and maintain that the effect was highly important in disinfesting their minds, liberating their critical spirit, and hence to the whole phenomenon of glasnost.

Glasnost was of course intended to provide a forum for discussion on ways to improve the system. But freish, then freer, publication led above all to a great printing of these historical facts, almost always tending to put the whole regime in question. This was a major element in the path to the recent revolution. History, the struggle for true history, does have its effects in the great world.

IV

How was it possible in the pre-glasnost period for a Western historian to write Soviet history? His sources were few, scattered, often of doubtful reliability. He was in the position of a historian writing about some empire of antiquity, and relying on a few score papyri, a few scant inscriptions. Successful work could be done only by comprehensive search, following up all possible

● This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

leads, and considering them in the most careful and critical manner. It contrasted markedly with another approach by Western writers who—even quite recently—accepted the official published material of the period, a congeries of massive falsification, and rejected in principle unofficial reports and memoirs, some of which at least were true.

Now, the conditions of the study have radically changed. The thirty to forty million files—files, not documents—of the Central Party Archives are or will be available, with a similar number in the secret-police records, and millions more elsewhere. Which, in the words of Shakespeare's Mark Antony, "which, pardon me, I do not mean to read."

But, of course, this material (in whose release I have been closely involved) is highly welcome. Russian researchers have already made much plan which was formerly obscure, and we have been able to use this. They will produce more. But it will be a long, tedious, and indeed in one sense uncompletable job. Arnold Toynbee actually prefers our understanding of the Graeco-Roman epoch on the grounds that it is "not encumbered and obscured by a surfeit of information."

For even if such a mass of documentation were in some sense fully available or usable, or a representative selection possible, it would still not in itself tell anything like the full story. It is not so much a gift as a challenge to true, critical scholarship. As a great researcher once wrote, "It is perfectly possible, as all who have made any historical researches can attest, to read bale after bale of despatches and protocols without catching one glimpse of light about the relations of governments."

Documents do not describe the circumstances of their composition. For example, I have read some of the lesser secret-police interrogation reports, and they appear as rational questioning, with the prisoner giving very detailed factual answers. Nothing on paper shows the true context of torture. At least, the wording does not: but occasionally reality breaks through, as with the "forensically identifiable" bloodstains on the interrogation record of Marshal Tukhachevsky.

But, as I say, even if the documents were pure records of what they purport to be, they would not give more than a part of the true picture. Moreover, beyond a certain point "research" can lose its usefulness. If undertaken in a more or less automatic way, without a background of knowledge or of practical judgment, it invites the comment made by Sir Joshua Reynolds, a scholar as well as a painter: "A provision of endless apparatus, a bustle of infinite inquiry and research... may be employed, to evade and shuffle off real labor—the real labor of thinking."

Without truth in history, humanity is no longer humanity. It becomes prey to the mental distortions which have, in this country, already caused so many millions of deaths, and brought the world to the verge of ruin.

Jefferson is quoted as saying that someone who knows nothing is nearer to the truth than someone whose mind is filled with falsehood. But he thought we could do better than that. And so we can.

ZENECA, INC., CASHES IN ON BREAST CANCER WITH VOLUNTARY PRICE INCREASES ON NOLVADEX TABLETS

HON. FORTNEY PETE STARK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, for American women, breast cancer is the second leading cause of cancer mortality behind lung cancer. The National Cancer Institute estimates that, in 1993, 46,300 women will die of breast cancer and 183,000 new cases will be diagnosed.

Many of these women will join the hundreds of thousands of women around the world currently taking the most widely prescribed drug for the treatment of breast cancer, Nolvadex—tamoxifen citrate. Treatment for these women usually entails taking one 10 mg tablet twice daily on a long-term basis.

Nolvadex is sold by Zeneca, Inc., a business unit of Imperial Chemical Industries PLC (ICI) based in the United Kingdom. It has been sold in the United States since 1978. In 1992 alone, U.S. sales of Nolvadex were approximately \$265 million, an increase of nearly 12 percent over the previous year. World sales approached \$500 million in 1992 and are expected to increase as the drug is being used by more women.

As the number of prescriptions for Nolvadex has been rising in the United States, so has the price. Between 1984 and 1992 the price increased 75 percent, rising from 79 cents to \$1.38 per tablet. From 1991 to 1992 alone, the price increased 8 percent. After jacking-up the price, how can drug manufacturers, such as Zeneca, expect that their proposal for further voluntary price increases be acceptable? With inflation currently running about 3 percent, Zeneca has stated that their pricing policy for 1993 will exceed this rate of increase.

As I mentioned, Zeneca's parent company is based in the United Kingdom. In that country, Nolvadex 10 mg tablets cost 30 cents each. Generic tablets are also available at 16 cents per tablet. The GAO United States/Canada price report noted that the price of the brand name product was also lower in Canada. Five generic versions of tamoxifen citrate are available in Canada where the best available price is currently 24 cents per tablet.

Here in the United States, Zeneca, Inc., recently settled a patent challenge with a generic company, Barr Laboratories. Under the terms of the agreement, Barr received a \$21 million settlement and will distribute generically labeled tamoxifen, manufactured by Zeneca, beginning November 1, 1993.

Since ICI/Zeneca sells Nolvadex at home at 30 cents per tablet, and generic companies in Canada can still make a profit selling the drug at 24 cents, I wonder at what level the Barr/Zeneca agreement will set the price of the so-called generic in the United States.

Whatever the price of the Zeneca/Barr product, Zeneca will not face much of a loss in market share as a result of this agreement. They will likely introduce the 20 mg once-a-day tablet to the United States market, something they did years ago in the United Kingdom and Canada. The one-a-day tablet will be

heavily promoted to physicians who will begin prescribing to their patients, thus reducing the market for the 10 mg tablet.

Dr. Jane Sprague Zones, action vice chair of the National Women's Health Network has recently voiced the concern of the network's 15,000 individual and 400 organizational members. According to Dr. Zones—

Unreasonable prices for certain medications hamper women's access to high quality medical care... If typical economic laws of volume discount applied, the price of Nolvadex would have decreased over the last eight years... Given these conditions, we believe efforts to rein in unreasonable prescription drug prices are necessary and would benefit women's health.

Such concerns have been echoed by Judy Norsigian, codirector of the Boston Women's Health Book Collective.

Drug company representatives frequently suggest that we should not be concerned about price levels of products such as Nolvadex in public drug benefit programs because Medicaid rebates are paid back to the Government. What they do not say is that these rebates are to compensate for the inflated prices that are charged in the first place. Zeneca's indigent drug program probably wouldn't even be necessary if they sold the drug at a price comparable to the brand name price in the United Kingdom.

What I hear from our constituents and organizations such as the National Association of Chain Drug Stores, is that in the retail drug sector, the drug industry maintains a discriminatory pricing policy which results in uninsured people and those covered by private insurance paying grossly inflated monopoly prices.

The Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association's voluntary price increase proposal suggests that, after years of astronomical rates of price increase, a year or two of price increases of only a few percentage points above inflation will fix everything. Consumers tell us, "No Way." Pharmacists tell us that costs are being shifted to the retail sector. Experts tell us that this proposal is unenforceable. Recently the Consumers Union of the United States and the Association of American Cancer Institutes endorsed, H.R. 916, a bill I introduced which will create a fair, enforceable regulatory regime, by establishing a prescription drug prices review board. Many of my colleagues have similarly expressed their support. I urge you to seriously consider this as the most reasonable alternative to further unchecked voluntary price increases.

DIESEL FUEL TAX ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 1993 INTRODUCED

HON. ERNEST J. ISTOOK, JR.

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mr. ISTOOK. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to introduce for myself and 11 other original sponsors, the Diesel Fuel Tax Enforcement Act of 1993.

According to Federal law enforcement authorities, the evasion of Federal taxes on diesel fuel has become controlled by organized crime with an estimated revenue loss of over

\$1 billion. The National Association of Truck Stop Operators [NATSO] estimates that the combined annual loss of State and Federal taxes through failure to remit fuel taxes is \$4 billion.

The resulting competitive advantage these crooks enjoy has forced many small businesses to choose between cooperating under duress or going out of business. According to the Petroleum Marketers Association of America [PMAA], legitimate marketers are frequently approached by illegal operators and told to cooperate or lose their business.

On May 6 of this year, Federal officials announced a 101-count indictment involving 13 alleged mobsters in New Jersey, including members of the Mafia and Russian emigres, who had skimmed more than \$60 million in State and Federal taxes on gasoline, diesel fuel, and home heating oil.

The indictment charges the emigres joined members of John Gotti's Gambino crime family to fix the market price of fuel. They used phony companies to evade Federal excise taxes of 20.1-cents a gallon on diesel fuel and 14.1 cents a gallon of gasoline.

On April 5 of this year, Federal agents closed another operation in Nebraska and Colorado which just since September of 1992 cost the Federal Government \$4.6 million; in December 1993, Federal agents in New Jersey and Pennsylvania hit a major crime organization and seized 56 tanker trucks, 4 terminals, an oceangoing barge, millions of gallons of fuel, \$8.5 million in cash, and additional millions in jewels, narcotics, and armaments.

Texas alone has returned indictments in excess of \$250 million for the theft of State motor fuel taxes, an amount which would be doubled if Federal taxes were included in the total. Similar enforcement activity is underway in California, Florida, Indiana, New York, and elsewhere. All of this adds up to an enormous loss of revenue to the Federal highway trust fund and to State governments.

Mr. Speaker, the honest, hard-working, American taxpayer is already being asked to shoulder an overwhelming tax burden. We should not expect them to continue to subsidize the maintenance of the Nation's debt while the mob enjoys the good life.

Therefore, I, along with the original sponsors, are today introducing the Diesel Fuel Tax Enforcement Act of 1993. This bill permanently extends the Internal Revenue Service's undercover operations churning authority which has expired, calls for additional enforcement resources for the Internal Revenue Service's Criminal Investigation Division, through offsets, and requires Attorney General Reno to report back to the Congress about the feasibility of establishing additional Federal task forces to combat organized crime in the diesel fuel market.

This bill addresses the Federal enforcement side of the fuel tax evasion problem. It is intended to supplement any solutions agreed upon by the Ways and Means Committee to address the problem through changes in the point of collection or through the dying of fuel.

With sizeable State and Federal tax rates on motor fuel, and with the prospect of further increases in energy taxes, the profit margin for organized crime will continue to be very attractive. The additional resources and tools pro-

vided by this bill will bolster Federal law enforcement's ability to drive the mob out of the motor fuel market. The U.S. Treasury advises me that a conservative estimate would show that these additional tax law enforcement resources will yield a 10 to 1 return in taxes collected. Recent enforcement actions have shown that the ratio may in certain cases be as high as 50 to 1.

I encourage all Members of Congress who are concerned about the tax gap and who care about the honest businessman to consider cosponsoring this legislation.

HAZLETON'S CAN DO RECEIVES ARTHUR D. LITTLE AWARD FOR EXCELLENCE IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

HON. PAUL E. KANJORSKI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mr. KANJORSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize an economic development group in my district, the CAN DO Corp. This organization recently was awarded the prestigious Arthur D. Little Award for excellence in economic development.

CAN DO recently designed a corporate center project that will be the example of what business parks will be like in the future. Their design—the terrarium concept—stresses affordable pollution prevention and environmental protection.

The terrarium concept mandates that all operations, materials, machinery, equipment, and waste are to be maintained within the business's building. All exterior building walls or facades must be constructed of masonry materials such as stone, brick, decorated block, or glass to assure aesthetic quality and reduce the potential for noise. There can be no outdoor or underground storage tanks or vaults.

By preserving the ground water quality, preventing significant deterioration of air quality, and improving aesthetics, the quality of life and the economic outlook of the community will be greatly enhanced.

Economic development can and must take place in conjunction with concern for the environment. We can no longer trade away a clean environment for the sake of jobs. Northeastern and central Pennsylvania will certainly benefit from this new concept. Indeed, the entire country will benefit from CAN DO's ingenuity, creativity and concern for the environment.

The terrarium concept is exactly the kind of new and innovative approach our country needs to face the challenge of developing environmentally acceptable methods of economic growth.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the members of CAN DO for their outstanding idea and invite other communities to implement the terrarium concept for their business parks. It truly is the way to promote economic development in the future.

TRIBUTE TO MAJ. JOHN R. NUNNALLY, JR.

HON. PATRICIA SCHROEDER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize Maj. John Robert Nunnally, Jr.—Bob to us—for his distinguished and exemplary service to the U.S. Air Force and this great Nation as Deputy Chief of the House Liaison Office from May 17, 1991 to July 8, 1993. In this capacity, Bob quickly established a solid reputation with Members and Staff alike for his extensive knowledge of Air Force programs and issues, as well as national defense strategy. His charm, wit, and charisma have made an indelible impact on us. Bob, or Nundog as we call him, has aided us immeasurably in our day to day operations. His effectiveness on Capitol Hill is legendary. Whether assisting in floor speeches or legislative research, Bob's credibility and candor make him an invaluable resource. His expertise in airland battle, gleaned from combat duty with the Army in Desert Storm, has been an invaluable asset to us. I have had the pleasure of traveling with Bob on several occasions. He is the military escort of choice. In the challenging arena of international travel, he has a way of making the difficult look effortless and the impossible a reality. No one has a better feel for the pulse of Congress. He has earned our trust, our respect, and our gratitude. Because of Bob's credibility and goodwill, the Air Force and the Department of Defense will long reap the benefits of his tenure on the Hill. My colleagues and I bid Major Nunnally, his wife Sue, and their son Will, a fond farewell and wish them the very best for continued success in their next assignment at the Air Command and Staff College, Maxwell Air Force Base, AL.

ST. JOHN'S UNITED CHURCH CELEBRATES 75TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. TOM LANTOS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am proud today to recognize the 75th anniversary of one of the fine community churches in the heart of the 12th Congressional District, St. John's United Church in San Bruno, CA.

After years of meeting in members' homes, the church was founded on June 8, 1918, as the Evangelical St. Johannes Society with a congregation who were primarily of German heritage, and who then met in Carpenter's Hall. By 1940, St. John's was part of the Evangelical and Reformed Church. In June 1957 this denomination merged with the Congressional Christian Churches to form the United Church of Christ. Thus, today, St. John's has become St. John's United Church.

The congregation includes members from many different backgrounds, including African-Americans and Latin-Americans, as well as descendants from European countries. In recent years St. John's has shared its facilities

with a Filipino Congregational Church and now with a Korean Church.

Under the pastorship of Rev. Champion Traylor, the congregation continues to be an important focus for the less fortunate of the community, for example, leading the movement for a north county emergency shelter for the homeless.

Mr. Speaker, St. John's typifies the important place our community churches have always made for themselves in maintaining healthy and vibrant neighborhoods and towns. On the occasion of St. John's 75th anniversary, I would like to extend my heartfelt best wishes to its leaders and congregation.

LEW MELTZER RECEIVES THE AMERICANISM AWARD

HON. GARY L. ACKERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to acknowledge an outstanding humanitarian, Lew Meltzer. On June 16, Lew will receive the Americanism Award of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

In Nassau and Suffolk Counties, NY, Lew Meltzer has emerged as a driving force dedicated to the development and support of a sound economic and social community. His leadership and total participation as a director of the Association for a Better Long Island has led him to the role of chairman of ABLI's economic development committee. Lew's expertise in real estate and tax law is constantly sought after by new and established companies on Long Island seeking to start up, expand or solve a particularly complex business problem. His knowledge and skill in bringing people together to create a consensus for opportunity has been a keystone in the emergence of Long Island as a premiere area for economic development.

As treasurer and a director of the Long Island Society for Economic Balance, Lew is in the forefront of protecting our area's environment while at the same time assisting in meeting the growing needs of our communities.

Lew's efforts extend beyond economics into the areas of social activism and international relations. His continuous activity has contributed toward a strong, positive working relationship between the United States and Israel.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues in the House of Representatives to join with me now today in honoring Lew Meltzer, for his tireless leadership and selfless dedication which have earned him the ADL's Americanism Award.

DRUG COMPANY RESPONDS TO NEW MARKET DYNAMIC BY SUEING STATE MEDICAID PROGRAM

HON. FORTNEY PETE STARK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, when the PMA and drug company representatives come to

your office they will tell you that the market place has changed from the good old days. They will tell you that there prices are more competitive now and that they are responding to things like State formularies by lowering their prices.

Well, I can tell you how Glaxo, the manufacturer of Zantac, the most expensive drug for treating ulcers, is responding to the new market reality—they are suing the Medi-Cal program. The court date is today, June 14, 1993.

As part of an emergency budget plan, the prescription drug benefit component of the California Medicaid Program, Medi-Cal was required to limit the number of single-source—monopoly—products in a dozen therapeutic categories. Medi-Cal officials began the review with the antiulcer class of drugs and undertook a systematic review of the four medicines for which they were providing coverage. They found that unlike other medicines in the therapeutic class, the price which Glaxo was demanding for Zantac did not make it a cost-effective alternative. After attempts to negotiate a better price with Glaxo failed, Medi-Cal decided in January to exclude Zantac from its formulary and maintain coverage for the other more cost-effective medicines.

Medi-Cal officials were acting responsibly in using objective pharmaceutical expertise, considering therapeutic aspects and price, to design a formulary. A formulary is really a cost-effective shopping list for physicians who only receive biased propaganda from the drug industry. I think that it is notable that in January of this year, the FDA issued a warning letter to Glaxo which said that the company's promotion for Zantac had repeatedly suggested unapproved uses and made comparative efficacy and safety claims that were not supported by adequate data.

Glaxo Holdings Plc., of England has a monopoly on Zantac in the United States and made almost \$3.2 billion worldwide on this product alone in 1992. Sales in the United States in 1992 increased 13.6 percent to over \$1.7 billion. I guess its not surprising that Glaxo is fighting the new market reality where consumers and administrators, who are responsible for spending taxpayers' dollars prudently, seek a better deal than Glaxo has been offering.

THE 8TH AIR FORCE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of my colleagues information concerning the 8th Air Force which fought nobly during the Second World War and which continues today to play a vital role in our Nation's air defense. Kentucky, my home State, has, over the years, given many of its own to the 8th Air Force for the defense of our country. Among these valiant Louisville-area residents who have served in the 8th Air Force and who now work to further its memory as founding members of the 8th Air Force Historical Society are: Wayne Tabor, Pete Johnson, and Joe Gagliardi.

The 8th Air Force came into existence in Savannah, GA, in January of 1942, and is now stationed at Barksdale Air Force Base, Shreveport, LA. During World War II, under the leadership of Gen. Ira Eaker, the 8th Air Force Team flew search and destroy missions over rail yards in France—the first heavy bombing expeditions led by American forces.

In 1944, the legendary Jimmy Doolittle took command of the 8th Air Force and, as we say around here, the rest is history.

The Mighty 8th grew in size and ability and, in England, over 350,000 of its personnel served at 112 separate bases. Once, 2,000 bombers and 1,000 fighter planes flew a single mission over Germany.

But this show of force did not come easily. A heavy toll was extracted from those who served in the 8th both in the air and on the ground. One-half of the total U.S. Air Force casualties in World War II are estimated to have been borne by the 8th.

Along with the great losses, the 8th, achieved great victories. Its men earned the highest military awards a unit can receive. Among the awards: 17 Congressional Medals of Honor; 2,210 Distinguished Service Crosses; 850 Silver Stars; 46,000 Distinguished Flying Crosses; and 442,000 Air Medals. The 8th could also boast of 261 fighter aces within their ranks. After completing the war in Europe, the 8th went into action with Japan.

Every major U.S. conflict since the Second World War has witnessed the heroic efforts of the men, and now the women, of the 8th Air Force. In all, over one million persons have served under the 8th's proud shield.

I ask my colleagues to join me in a salute to all those who have served their country, and who serve it today, in the uniform of the 8th Air Force—and, in particular, to those who gave their lives as members of the 8th to keep our country free and independent.

WORLD'S LARGEST AMERICAN FLAG UNFURLED TODAY

HON. PAUL E. KANJORSKI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mr. KANJORSKI. Mr. Speaker, I want to call my colleagues' attention to a remarkable event which took place today, Flag Day, on the grounds of the Washington Monument.

The world's largest American flag was unfurled today by hundreds of patriotic volunteers. This flag measures 255 feet by 505 feet, weighs 3,000 pounds, and took 60,000 miles of thread to make.

Mr. Ski Demski, upon learning that China had the largest flag in the world, commissioned this flag so that the world's greatest nation produced the world's largest flag. Today's ceremony at the Washington Monument marked the official measuring of the flag for the "Guinness Book of World Records."

I was pleased to join Mr. Demski, a native of my hometown of Naticoke, PA, at this momentous event and can attest to the patriotic response this monumental flag inspired in all who witnessed its unfurling.

Mr. Speaker, the American flag is the most recognized symbol in the world. It represents freedom, democracy, and justice to every man, woman, and child who looks upon it. It is only appropriate that on Flag Day that we take pride in that symbol and honor it by unfurling the world's largest American flag.

THE INTERNATIONAL STATISTICAL INFORMATION AND ANALYSIS ACT OF 1993

HON. THOMAS C. SAWYER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mr. SAWYER. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, June 10, I introduced legislation that is important both for America and the former Soviet Republics.

The transition from yesterday's Communist dictatorship and centrally planned Marxist economy of the U.S.S.R. to tomorrow's democracy and market-driven economies in the republics will not be an easy one. It is in the best interest of all the republics and the United States to ensure that the transition is both orderly and successful. We shouldn't let it fail. Our own national security and future economic prosperity are linked to the ability of the republics to build and sustain free societies.

The International Statistical Information and Analysis Act of 1993 will assist the newly independent republics of the former Soviet Union with the collection, analysis, and dissemination of reliable market-related economic data. Without this assistance, the republics will be hard-pressed to employ the statistical means necessary to measure and to guide their movement toward a market economy.

My legislation would create a coordinating council of several U.S. statistical agencies. The council will determine priorities for providing appropriate training and other assistance to each of the republics.

The expertise found at American statistical agencies is unsurpassed in the world. We can use this capability to establish within the republics a capacity to gather critical data relevant to the new economic environment. This, in turn, will give them the ability to monitor effectively their economic restructuring and make appropriate adjustments in their reform programs in a flexible and responsive manner.

The republics possess the vestiges of a vast statistical system from the Soviet era. Unfortunately, the standards used to manage command economies are markedly different from those commonly used to measure economic and business activity in Western industrial nations. This legislation is designed to support the republics in their efforts to operationalize unfamiliar economic concepts and to develop the statistical instruments needed to gather market-related data.

We also seek to encourage the sharing of information in a usable format for several very important reasons. Reliable data will help us measure the successes and failures of current assistance programs. This, in turn, will allow us to target our aid in a more informed, less costly, and less experimental manner.

In addition, an accurate and credible analysis of the economic environment will allow

American investors to realize the real growth product of private capital investment. Finally, such a capacity will provide the republics with a longer term ability to develop their economic infrastructure and institutions of financial management.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation will achieve a final important purpose. Once the data shows that international assistance is achieving its goal, we will know when we can reduce our funding levels. Americans deserve to know how effectively our assistance is working. And when those funds achieve their objectives, we have an obligation to reduce such aid. This legislation will give us the means to do so in a responsible way.

Reliable measurements are fundamental to any society. Used to their potential, they guide policy, both in government and in the private sector. In our country, we have come to recognize the value of our own economic indicators, and know that without accurate information, costly mistakes are inevitable.

Surely we can appreciate the importance the republics place on the need to develop their own measurements of economic progress. This legislation provides a means to facilitate critical economic information for the republics and for us.

I urge my colleagues to support this legislation.

FLATTEN THE PORK BARREL

HON. ROBERT K. DORNAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, the attached story from the Associated Press should give the House pause before we consider additional appropriations bills.

As the AP story attests, the appropriations process is becoming corrupted by the power of lobbyists, who bypass the competitive grant process in order to funnel money to their clients. When research institutions cannot successfully compete for Federal funding, they should take that as a challenge to improve their grant-writing and research program. Instead, they hire million dollar lobbyists to earmark funds in appropriations bills. These research projects are never reviewed by experts in the field, nor are they subjected to the competitive process that traditional grants must face. The U.S. Congress is rewarding failure.

We are in the midst of very tight spending limits, yet we increase noncompetitive grants by 12 percent. Does this make sense? In the end, this will only direct money toward mediocre science. Peer review should determine the use of Federal funds, not pork barrel politics.

Because I am a strong supporter of competitive research grants, I will be proposing an amendment to the Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education appropriations bill to shift all noncompetitive research money to NIH's basic biomedical research programs. After all, working to cure leukemia is far worthier than fighting roaches and rats.

The article follows:

NONCOMPETITIVE RESEARCH GRANTS INCREASE
IN '93

Congress earmarked more than three quarters of a billion dollars this year for specific

university research projects without any competitive review of their merits, a published report said.

The \$763 million for fiscal 1993 represented a nearly 12 percent increase over the \$684 million spent on such research projects the previous year, the Chronicle of Higher Education reported in its June 16 edition, to be released Monday.

The weekly newspaper, distributed primarily in the higher education community, said the money included \$76,000 for the University of Georgia to study urban pests, \$1.5 million for a new center for Pacific Rim studies at the University of San Francisco and \$42 million for a six-member consortium of schools to construct a building for work on the human dimensions of global change.

"The growth in earmarks flew in the face of lawmakers' complaints about tight spending limits and their struggle to deal with the federal budget deficit," the Chronicle said.

The report said every state received at least one such project, but it could not determine the exact amount of money given to each because some projects were jointly sponsored by universities in more than one state.

Joseph P. Martino, a senior research scientist at the University of Dayton, told the Chronicle that he was not surprised at the increase.

"Once the pork barrels see they can get away with it they will continue to try," said Martino, author of "Science Funding: Politics and Porkbarrel," which looks at the history of federal support for science. "This is merely a symptom of the overall corruption of the congressional appropriation process."

But the Rev. Paul S. Tipton, president of the association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities, said earmarking funds for special projects is "the classic American way."

UNITED STATES HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY—SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER'S ADDRESS AT THE UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE

HON. TOM LANTOS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, today under United Nations auspices, the World Conference on Human Rights was opened in Vienna, Austria. At this important effort to give greater world attention and focus to the critically important issue of human rights. The U.S. delegation to this conference—reflecting the high-level interest and concern of our Government for this issue—was led by our Secretary of State, Warren Christopher. He has been joined by State Department counselor, Tim Wirth, and other key officials of the executive branch.

This afternoon, Mr. Speaker, Secretary Christopher addressed the World Conference on Human Rights to reaffirm the American commitment to human rights based on our Nation's historic grounding in the moral commitment to democracy and respect for man's equality and unalienable rights. I urge my colleagues to give it serious and thoughtful reflection.

The Secretary of State's address to the Human Rights Conference follows:

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS: WHERE AMERICA STANDS

(By Warren Christopher, Secretary of State)
Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And thanks to Secretary General Fall and the Preparatory Conference Chair Warzazi:

Ladies and Gentlemen, I speak to you as the representative of the nation "conceived in liberty." America's identity as a nation derives from our dedication to the proposition "that all Men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights." Over the course of two centuries, Americans have found that advancing democratic values and human rights serves our deepest values as well as our practical interests.

That is why the United States stands with the men and women everywhere who are standing up for these principles. And that is why President Clinton has made reinforcing democracy and protecting human rights a pillar of our foreign policy—and a major focus of our foreign assistance programs.

Democracy is the moral and strategic imperative for the 1990s. Democracy will build safeguards for human rights in every nation. Democracy is the best way to advance lasting peace and prosperity in the world.

The cause of freedom is a fundamental commitment for my country. It is also a matter of deep personal conviction for me. I am proud to have headed the U.S. Government's first interagency group on human rights under President Carter, who is with us today. President Carter will be remembered as the first American President to put human rights on the international agenda. He has helped to lift the lives of people in every part of the world. Today, we build upon his achievements—and those of the human rights movement since the inception.

In this post-Cold War era, we are at a new moment. Our agenda for freedom must embrace every prisoner of conscience, every victim of torture, every individual denied basic human rights. It must also encompass the democratic movements that have changed the political map of our globe.

The great new focus on our agenda for freedom is this: expanding, consolidating and defending democratic progress around the world. It is democracy that establishes the civil institutions that replace the power of oppressive regimes. Democracy is the best means not just to gain—but to guarantee—human rights.

In the battle for democracy and human rights, words matter, but what we do matters much more. What all of our citizens and governments do in the days ahead will count far more than any discussions held or documents produced here.

I cannot predict the outcome of this Conference. But I can tell you this: The worldwide movement for democracy and human rights will prevail. My delegation will support the forces of freedom—of tolerance, of respect for the rights of the individual—not only in the next few weeks in Vienna, but every day in the conduct of our foreign policy throughout the world. The United States will never join those who would undermine the Universal Declaration and the movement for democracy and human rights.

SECURING FREEDOM AFTER THE COLD WAR

The Universal Declaration enshrines a timeless truth for all people and all nations: "Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace" on this earth. The Declaration's drafters met the challenge of respecting the world's diversity, while reflecting values that are universal.

Even before the Declaration was adopted, the Cold War had begun to cast a chilling shadow. But the framers of the Declaration hoped that each successive generation would strengthen the Declaration through its struggles. It is for each generation to redeem the promise of the framers' work.

Time and again since the adoption of the Universal Declaration, human rights activism has unlocked prison cells and carved out pockets of freedom for individuals living under repression. Today, the global movement from despotism to democracy is transforming entire political systems and opening freedom's door to whole societies.

Nowhere is this great drama playing out on a more central stage than in the former Soviet Union. Ensuring the success of democracy in Russia, Ukraine and the other Newly Independent States is the strategic challenge of our time. President Clinton is determined to meet that challenge of leadership—to tip the world balance in favor of freedom. That is why he has led America into an alliance with Russian reform spearheaded by President Yeltsin.

The promotion of democracy is the first line of global security. A world of democracies would be a safer world. It would dedicate more to human development and less to human destruction. It would promote what all people have in common rather than what tears them apart. It would be a world of hope, not despair.

DEMOCRACY AND DIVERSITY

In 1993 alone, in addition to a massive turnout for democracy in Russia, we have seen unprecedented free elections in Cambodia, Yemen, Burundi, and Paraguay. The Truth Commission in El Salvador has completed its healing work. And the people of South Africa have made dramatic progress toward non-racial democracy.

Around the world, people are doing the hard, sometimes painful work of building democratic societies from the bottom up. They are making democracy work not just on election day, but every day. They are promoting civil societies that respect the rule of law and make governments accountable.

Citizens' groups are pressing for social justice and establishing non-governmental human rights organizations. Women's groups are advocating equal treatment and fighting the widespread practice of gender-based violence. Workers are forming free trade unions. Independent media are giving pluralism its voice. All are creating counterweights to repression by affirming and asserting fundamental freedoms of expression, association, and movement.

American support for democracy is an enduring commitment. We know that establishing and sustaining democracy is not a linear proposition. The world democratic movement will encounter setbacks along the way. But with constant vigilance and hard work, democracy will succeed.

Look at the people of Guatemala. Two weeks ago, they overcame a coup that had dissolved their democratic institutions. They showed that democracy has a new resilience in the Americas, with roots extending deep into civil society. The resolve of the Guatemalan public, backed by the United States and the OAS-led international community, has resulted in the election of a respected human rights defender as President.

And to those who say democracy is a Western contrivance, I say, you forgot to tell the people of Cambodia. Ninety percent of them summoned the courage, in the face of real threats, to re-claim their country by voting in last month's UN-monitored elections. In

what was once a killing field, democracy is taking root.

Democratic aspirations are rising from Central Asia to Central America. No circumstances of birth, culture, or geography can limit the yearning of the human spirit and the right to live in freedom and dignity. Martin Luther King and Gandhi, Fang Lizhi and Natan Sharansky—all came from different cultures and countries. Yet each shaped the destiny of his own nation and the world by insisting on the observance of the same universal rights.

That each of us comes from different cultures absolves none of us from our obligation to comply with the Universal Declaration. Torture, rape, racism, anti-Semitism, arbitrary detention, ethnic cleansing, and politically motivated disappearances—none of these is tolerated by any faith, creed, or culture that respects humanity. Nor can they be justified by the demands of economic development or political expediency.

We respect the religious, social, and cultural characteristics that make each country unique. But we cannot let cultural relativism become the last refuge of repression.

The universal principles of the UN Declaration put all people first. We reject any attempt by any state to relegate its citizens to a lesser standard of human dignity. There is no contradiction between the universal principles of the UN Declaration and the cultures that enrich our international community. The real charm lies between the cynical excuses of oppressive regimes and the sincere aspirations of their people.

No nation can claim perfection. In 1968, when the U.S. Delegation arrived at the first World Conference, my country was reeling from the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. The murder of Robert Kennedy soon followed. King and Kennedy were deeply committed to building a more just society for all Americans. Their valiant work and violent deaths left deep imprints on an entire generation of young Americans—among them, a university student named Bill Clinton.

DEMOCRACY CAN DELIVER

Many young democracies contend with the vast problems of grinding poverty, illiteracy, rapid population growth, and malnutrition. The survival of these democracies may ultimately depend on their ability to show their citizens that democracy can deliver—that the difficult political and economic choices will pay off soon and not just in some radiant future.

But nations that free human potential—that invest in human capital and defend human rights—have a better chance to develop and grow. Nations that enforce the right to seek and obtain employment without discrimination become more just societies—and more productive economies. And nations that are committed to democratic values create conditions in which the private sector is free to thrive, and provide work.

States that respect human rights and operate on democratic principles tend to be the world's most peaceful and stable. On the other hand, the worst violators of human rights tend to be the world's aggressors and proliferators. These states export threats to global security, whether in the shape of terrorism, massive refugee flows or environmental pollution. Denying human rights not only lays waste to human lives; it creates instability that travels quickly across borders.

THE FUTURE LIES WITH FREE PEOPLE

The worldwide prospects for human rights, democracy, and economic advancement have

never been better. But sadly, the end of the Cold War has not brought an end to aggression, repression and inhumanity.

Fresh horrors abound. We have only to think of the enormous human costs of regional conflict, ethnic hatred, and despotic rule. We have only to think of Bosnia—just a few hundred miles from this meeting hall, but worlds away from the peaceful and tolerant international community envisioned in the Universal Declaration.

A lasting peace in the Balkans depends on ensuring that all are prepared to respect fundamental human rights, especially those of minorities. Those who desecrate these rights must know that they will be ostracized. They will face sanctions. They will be brought before tribunals of international justice. They will not gain access to assistance or investment. And they will not gain acceptance by the community of civilized nations.

The future lies in another direction: not with repressive governments but with free people. It belongs to the men and women who find inspiration in the words of the Universal Declaration; who act upon their principles even at great personal risk; who dodge bullets and defy threats to cast their ballots; who work selflessly for justice, tolerance, democracy and peace. These people can be found everywhere—ordinary men and men doing extraordinary things—even in places where hate, fear, war, and chaos rule the hour.

We must keep the spotlight of world opinion trained on the darkest corners of abuse. We must confront the abusers. We must sharpen the tools of human rights diplomacy to address problems before they escalate into violence and create new pariah states.

Today, on behalf of the United States, I officially present to the world community an ambitious action plan that represents our commitment to pursue human rights regardless of the outcome of this conference. This plan will help build the UN's capacity to practice preventive diplomacy, safeguard human rights, and assist fledgling democracies. We seek to strengthen the UN Human Rights Center and its advisory and rapporteurial functions. We support the establishment of a UN High Commissioner on Human Rights.

ADVANCING WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The United States will also act to integrate our concerns over the inhumane treatment of women into the global human rights agenda. We will press for the appointment of a UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women. We will also urge the UN to sharpen the focus and strengthen the coordination of its women's rights activities.

Eleanor Roosevelt and the other drafters of the Declaration wanted to write a document that would live and last. They were determined to write a document that would protect and empower women as well as men. But that remains an unfulfilled vision in too many parts of the world, where women are subjected to discrimination and bias solely based on their gender.

Violence and discrimination against women don't just victimize individuals; they hold back whole societies by confining the human potential of half the population. Guaranteeing women their human rights is a moral imperative. It is also an investment in making whole nations stronger, fairer and better.

Women's rights must be advanced on a global basis. The crucial work is at the national level. It is in the self interest of every nation to terminate unequal treatment of women.

NEXT STEPS OF OUR OWN

Beyond our support for multilateral efforts, the United States recognizes that we have a solemn duty to take steps of our own. In that spirit, I am pleased to announce that the United States will move promptly to obtain the consent of our Senate to ratify The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

We strongly support the general goals of the other treaties that we have signed but not yet ratified. The convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women; The American Convention on Human Rights; and The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; each of these will constitute important advances. Our Administration will turn to them as soon as the Senate has acted on the racism Convention. And we expect soon to pass implementing legislation for the Convention Against Torture in furtherance of the worldwide goal of eliminating torture by the year 2000. To us, these far-reaching documents are not parchment promises to be made for propaganda effect, but solemn commitments to be enforced.

My country will pursue human rights in our bilateral relations with all governments—large and small, developed and developing. America's commitment to human rights is global, just as the UN Delegation is universal.

As we advance these goals, American foreign policy will both reflect our fundamental values and promote our national interests. It must take account of our national security and economic needs at the same time we pursue democracy and human rights. We will maintain our ties with our allies and friends. We will act to deter aggressors. And we will cooperate with like-minded nations to ensure the survival of freedom when it is threatened.

The United States will promote democracy and protect our security. We must do both—and we will.

We will insist that our diplomats continue to report accurately and fully on human rights conditions around the world. Respect for human rights and the commitment to democracy-building will be major considerations as we determine how to spend our resources on foreign assistance. And we will weigh human rights considerations in trade policy, as President Clinton demonstrated last month.

We will help new democracies make a smooth transition to civilian control of the military. And we will assist militaries in finding constructive new roles in pursuit of peace and security—roles that respect human rights and contribute to international peace.

Working with the UN and other international organizations, we will help develop the public and private institutions essential to a working democracy and the rule of law. And we will continue to support America's own National Endowment for Democracy in its mission to help nourish democracy where it is struggling to grow.

PLACE TO STAND UPON

The international debate now turns less on whether human rights are appropriate for discussion—and more on how to address them most effectively. The debate turns less on whether democracy best serves the needs of people everywhere—and more on how soon their democratic aspirations will be met.

Two hundred years ago, in his famous Rights of Man, the political philosopher Thomas Paine wrote this concerning Archi-

medes' image of the incomparable force of leverage: "Had we a place to stand upon, we might raise the world."

Ladies and Gentlemen, the nations of the world do have a place to stand upon: If we stand upon the bedrock principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and support the worldwide democratic movement, we shall speed the day when all the world's peoples are raised up into lives of freedom, dignity, prosperity, and peace.

That is where the Conference should stand. This is where America stands.

SCHAEFER GOES TO BAT FOR THE ROCKIES

HON. PATRICIA SCHROEDER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Speaker, last week USA Today columnist Taylor Buckley took a few unwarranted swings at our great State and our great baseball team. Fortunately, my colleague DAN SCHAEFER, who plays heads up ball on and off the diamond, not only struck him out but sent him to the showers.

[From USA Today, June 11, 1993]

CONGRESSMAN RULES "ERROR" ON COLUMN

(By Representative Dan Schaefer)

USA Today printed a commentary by Taylor Buckley regarding the CBS-ESPN-Major League Baseball television rights agreement ("Hey, baseball shouldn't be on TV, anyway," Sports, May 13). I take exception to some of his comments.

Buckley referred to Denver and, by implication, the entire Rocky Mountain region as "Podunk" and intimated that the quality of Major League Baseball has been degraded by awarding a franchise to Colorado. I would like to correct some of his misinformation.

The Denver area serves as gateway for the Rocky Mountain region—a seven-state area covering an entire time zone and about 20 percent of the total land area of the continental United States. Denver is the financial capital of the West and a world leader in mining and telecommunications.

Likewise, the Colorado Rockies have been a quick success for Major League Baseball.

Through the first 21 home games of the season, Colorado averaged 58,400 attendees per game—over 26,000 more per game than the National League average of 31,973.

Instead of an albatross around baseball's neck, Colorado has been a golden eagle. For the Rocky Mountains and Western Plains, the Colorado Rockies finally provide a home team to support.

[From USA Today, May 13, 1993]

HEY, BASEBALL SHOULDN'T BE ON TV ANYWAY

(By Taylor Buckley)

Sorry. The significance of baseball's new TV deal is lost on me. But then I never could understand why CBS and ESPN coughed up \$1.5 billion for the TV rights to four long years of something as tediously insignificant as baseball.

A lot of people are whining and moaning that the new deal means the demise of Saturday afternoon baseball on TV. This, too, is beyond me. Do you think the guys who go down to the Elks lodge to "watch the game" most Saturdays are going to stay home and mow the grass? Please. They are going down to play rummy and hoist brewskies like they always do.

Does no "Saturday Games of the Week" mean husbands will actually talk with wives? Might children get conceived or other semi-urgent, baseball-thwarted projects be completed? Will George Will spend Saturday afternoons writing even more columns savaging the Clinton economic recovery plan? (I do assume correctly that men are the only ones lazy or dumb enough to be victimized by TV baseball on Saturday, don't I?)

Not a chance. In fact, if Major League Baseball really wanted to save the game—as it professes with such intellectual vigor and occasional indignation—it would get the game off TV. Allowing a baseball franchise in some podunk town like Denver was bad enough. Television is killing baseball, if indeed it has not lit the pyre already.

With the first game it telecast, TV robbed baseball of all the romance it ever had—romance nurtured and enhanced and skillfully blown way out of proportion by radio.

Radio is the medium of baseball.

On TV, baseball is revealed in its true form: a batter swatting imaginary dirt from his imaginary "spikes" with a fat wooden stick while other players idle away the hours tweaking their waistbands and fumbling with imaginary folds in their uniforms. Nothing happens here, excepting the invisible, silent, relentless accumulation of meaningless statistics. It is not "good television," as they say.

On radio, you get to imagine that something is really happening, with those fabulous play-by-play and color-man voices ebbing and flowing with the fictional action and recorded crowd noise. (Did you know they made one tape of the crowd noise at the Kentucky Derby in 1964 and it has been used on baseball broadcasts ever since?)

Plus, baseball on radio is relaxing.

Close your eyes (inevitably) during a TV game and you are just another dullard sleeping the day away.

Close them while listening on radio and you're adjudged to be the most astute of fans. Just be careful not to snore.

STATEMENT OF POSITION ON MISSED VOTES

HON. FORTNEY PETE STARK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, I attended my daughter's wedding and unfortunately missed 14 votes and a quorum call on June 11, a choice I hope every parent will understand.

Following is how I would have voted if I had been present:

Rollcall 203, the Journal vote, "aye".

Rollcall 204, previous question on the rule, "aye".

Rollcall 205, the vote on the rule, "aye".

Rollcall 206, motion to adjourn, "no".

Rollcall 207, quorum call, "present".

Rollcall 208, Stupak amendment, "aye".

Rollcall 209, Pomeroy amendment, "aye".

Rollcall 210, Shepherd amendment, "aye".

Rollcall 211, Grams amendment, "aye".

Rollcall 212, Stupak in the Committee of the Whole, "aye".

Rollcall 213, Pomeroy in the Committee of the Whole, "aye".

Rollcall 214, Shepherd in the Committee of the Whole, "aye".

Rollcall 215, Grams in the Committee of the Whole, "aye".

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Rollcall 216, motion to recommit, "no".
Rollcall 217, final passage, "yes".

SUPPORT FOR THE AMERICAN HEALTH SECURITY ACT

HON. AL SWIFT

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mr. SWIFT. Mr. Speaker, I recently added my name as a cosponsor of H.R. 1200, the American Health Security Act. This legislation introduced by Congressman JIM McDERMOTT seeks to make health care available for all Americans by replacing private and public—Medicare, Medicaid, and veterans—health insurance programs with a single program administered by the Federal Government.

Specifically, the legislation offers a solid package of health care benefits including hospital and physician care, long-term care, prescription drugs, mental health care services, and preventive care. In addition, the bill provides strong measures for cost containment through administrative simplification, the establishment of a national health care budget with corresponding State budgets, and negotiated fee schedules with providers, hospitals, and pharmaceutical companies. The system created under H.R. 1200 is financed through a combination of payroll taxes, income taxes on higher-income groups, income-adjusted premiums, and closing of tax loopholes.

The American Health Security Act includes the two key pieces that are absolutely necessary for any real reform of our ailing health care system—universal access and strong cost containment. Unless we cover everybody, the current trend of cost-shifting from those who can't pay, to those who can, will continue and we'll never get a handle on skyrocketing health care costs. And as the cost of care continues to rise, more folks are losing access every day. There are simply too many people in this country without any health care coverage or with inadequate coverage. That has got to change.

We also need to do better job at health promotion. Too many people enter the health system at the most expensive points—the emergency room or when a minor illness has deteriorated into a major illness and is then more costly to treat. H.R. 1200 stresses primary care by offering comprehensive preventive coverage and incentives to train more primary care practitioners. This legislation will allow health care providers to care for the whole person not just the ailments that require a specialist's treatment.

Mr. Speaker, the American Health Security Act offers one approach to how we solve our health care crisis. There are other ways to cure our Nation's health care problems. In fact, the President's health care task force headed by Hillary Rodham Clinton may propose a system which includes some components of a single-payer system as well as those from a managed competition system similar to what was recently adopted in Washington State. In any case, I believe it is terribly important that we work together to come up with comprehensive reform—that will likely

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mean compromises on the part of all health care reform advocates. I have often said that it is not the opponents of health care reform that will kill this legislation, but rather, the proponents will doom reform if we are not willing to keep an open mind to different approaches.

Health care reform will without question be one of the greatest challenges of the 103d Congress. And yet the changes we make to our health care system represent only the beginning as we will continue to have to make adjustments in the years to come. We have a tremendous opportunity to provide health security to all the men, women, and children of this country. Let's not miss it.

HONORARY VOLUNTEER DIVE TEAM

HON. HERBERT H. BATEMAN

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mr. BATEMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to commend a group of volunteers who have given their time and skills to help one of my constituents, Mrs. Rita Hutton of the eastern shore of Virginia.

Mrs. Hutton's son, James Michael Hutton, and four other fishermen were lost when the clam boat *Mae Doris* sank off the Maryland coast last October. Mrs. Hutton wanted the wreck explored to find out if her son's body could be recovered. She searched for several months for volunteer divers or for funds to hire divers to search through the wreckage. Finally, in May, Sgt. Ed Lewis of the Chesapeake Police Department read about Mrs. Hutton's efforts and volunteered to organize and undertake the dive.

Sergeant Lewis found four other divers—Bill Niemeyer and Don Koonce of Virginia Beach, Troy Lindsey, another Chesapeake police officer, and Joe Darling, an instructor with Lynnhaven Dive Center—to assist with the dive. The vessel lay in 170 feet of water and required a decompression dive. Troy Lindsey served as the support diver, and the others went down in two teams. No bodies were found on the vessel, but the divers left a plaque in memory of the lost fishermen.

Sergeant Lewis, an eastern shore native, credits his wife and diving business partner, Sandra, with doing the lion's share of the organizing for the trip. The couple not only found volunteer divers, but solicited contributions for a dive boat, fuel, food, and the plaque. Mike Hillier provided and piloted the dive boat, *Miss Lindsey*; Papco, a Norfolk oil distributor, supplied 900 gallons of diesel fuel; Cara's Restaurant of Great Bridge supplied food for the volunteers during the trip, and Virginia Art Metal and Plastic provided the plaque. Dolman's Monuments has also provided a memorial stone to the Hutton family.

The Hutton family is very appreciative of the efforts of the divers and the others who provided support services. These public-spirited individuals and companies are to be commended for their efforts, which have helped the Hutton family deal with its grief.

ROMANIA'S COMMITMENT TO ITS CHILDREN

HON. BILL RICHARDSON

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, in recent years Romania's orphan population has burgeoned. The plight of these children has been played out internationally and their future is without certainty. I recently attended a briefing hosted by our colleague BART GORDON and Jessica Lange. Their efforts in the face of this monstrosity brings hope to an otherwise hopeless situation. Progress continues in alleviating the troubles of Romania's children and Congressman GORDON's and Ms. Lange's work in this effort is commendable. I congratulate them for their efforts and I hope conditions continue to improve for Romania's children. I urge my colleagues to read the following information and reflect upon Romania's progress thus far and its needs for the future:

ROMANIA REITERATES COMMITMENT TO IMPROVE STATUS FOR ORPHANS

WASHINGTON, DC, May 5, 1993.—In response to interest raised at today's press conference with Representative Bart Gordon, actress Jessica Lange, John Upton and others on the status of Romanian children, the Ambassador of Romania to the United States, Aurel-Dragoș Munteanu, is issuing this statement.

"We welcome the interest expressed in the children of Romania. Romania is first and foremost concerned with the safety and welfare of all our children. We inherited a difficult situation after the Revolution. Our first wish, of course, is that Romanian children be well-cared for by their natural parents. When this is not possible, we try to place children with caring Romanian families. We also are taking steps to both improve our capacity to care for these children and to expedite international adoptions.

"A particular difficulty has been that many of those in Romanian orphanages are children who have been abandoned, rather than orphaned. This is particularly significant given that current Romanian adoption procedures are consistent with those of many Western countries, which legally require parental consent before the child is eligible for adoption. In these countries, it is difficult to process adoptions of children who are not legally recognized as orphans. As a result of this legal requirement, initially imposed to protect children, we are seeking passage of a law to expedite Romanian adoptions and make it easier for these abandoned children to be adopted.

"We are hopeful that the Romanian Parliament will complete action on this legislation in the near future.

"We also have been working with many helpful organizations and individuals in Romania and in the West to improve our orphanages and the welfare of our children and welcome constructive assistance and resources in this effort. In fact, we believe that the best future for all our children is in closer ties to the United States through both support and improved trading relations."

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

SUSAN DONOWITZ RETIRES

HON. GEORGE J. HOCHBRUECKNER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mr. HOCHBRUECKNER. Mr. Speaker, it is a great pleasure to rise today to honor Susan Donowitz, an outstanding individual who is retiring from the Rocky Point School District, in Rocky Point, NY, after 23 years of service as an elementary schoolteacher.

Susan Donowitz has been an asset to both her students and fellow teachers over her many years of service. She has been a role model to both experienced and new teachers. In addition, she has been an active member of the Parent Teacher Organization and a faithful participant at school board meetings. Furthermore, she has always been willing to give her students extra help. For example, each year she took her students to Frost Valley, NY, in order to teach them about ecology, nutrition, rock formation, and about animals native to the Catskill region.

Mr. Speaker, it is a honor to recognize Susan Donowitz for her many years of accomplishments and dedication to education. I wish her a long and happy retirement. She will be truly missed by the students and faculty of the Rocky Point School District.

IN SUPPORT OF BUDGET RECONCILIATION

HON. KAREN SHEPHERD

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Ms. SHEPHERD. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, May 27, I and my colleagues in the House of Representatives made one of the most important votes of our careers. For weeks, I have agonized over this legislation. I desperately want to see the deficit reduced, yet I don't want to see my middle-class constituents unfairly burdened by either the tax increases or the spending cuts. I am convinced that the budget reconciliation package strikes a fair balance.

I don't like everything about this reconciliation package. Fortunately, we had the opportunity to amend this legislation. When this legislation came to the floor, I supported an effort to control entitlements and establish a trust fund to ensure that all tax increases go toward deficit reduction. I also received assurances that the Senate would work to scale back the Btu tax and replace the revenues lost with tax cuts. In the end, the choice was simple: On one hand, do we vote for deficit reduction and for our children's future? Or, on the other hand, do we vote for \$600 billion deficits and even higher taxes in the year 2000, higher interest rates, a bigger trade deficit, generational warfare and gridlock?

In my district, my constituents have a lot of questions. The hardest thing for an elected official to do is to tell constituents "no." For 12 years, the American people have been told that the budget can be balanced without raising taxes and without cutting anybody's bene-

fits. How often have we heard from Members of Congress "Cut the deficit but don't cut Medicare! Cut the deficit but don't cut Social Security! Cut the deficit but don't cut my agricultural subsidy! Cut the deficit but don't close my military base!" These cries have produced gridlock and a \$4 trillion debt. I think the American people are ready for spending cuts, they're ready to live with an honest deficit reduction package, and it is the responsibility of the Congress to deliver.

It is also time for the President, for the Congress, and for the media to tell the truth about this package. As the Salt Lake Tribune editorialized, Any realistic deficit reduction plan must couple tax increases with spending cuts. There has been a lot of lobbyist-generated rhetoric from Republican leaders and other critics of the reconciliation bill. The fact is, the President's package has \$1 in spending cuts for every \$1 in tax increases. 70 percent of the burden of these tax increases falls on households with incomes over \$100,000—2.5 percent of all Utahns. On the other hand, 50 percent of my constituents will be eligible for the expansion of the earned income tax credit, which will offset the impact of the Btu tax. What's more, the full effect of the energy tax will not be felt until 1997, and it is likely to be substantially changed by the Senate.

Let's look at what else is in this bill. It includes provisions to help stabilize the real estate industry, an industry which in 1992 generated over \$1 billion worth of sales in the Salt Lake area alone. It includes provisions to promote small business investment through increased expensing. It will provide for research and development incentives and venture capital investment for high tech companies in my district. And it repeals the misguided luxury taxes of the 1990 budget agreement.

Unfortunately, the American people have not yet been given the full story on the alternatives to this reconciliation package. The Republicans, in spite of their diatribes of cut spending first, curiously could find only \$350 billion in cuts. Most of those cuts were in domestic discretionary spending, which has already been effectively frozen since 1990, and Medicare, which by their plan will simply shift costs to the private sector and beneficiaries. The so-called Perot budget, the deficit reduction figures of which have since been thoroughly discredited, imposed an energy tax that made the Btu tax look like peanuts.

With the exception of a few brave souls in the other body, we've gotten no help from the Republican side of the aisle. My Republican colleagues have the freedom to posture themselves in any way the see fit between now and election day next year. They have prepared a plan that is unrealistic, unfair and unworkable. They don't have to be responsible and they're not. They could be part of the solution but have chosen to be a major part of the problem.

I don't have that luxury. I have no doubt that I will become an even more attractive target of the Republican Party this election cycle. But I didn't come to Congress to duck the tough choices and to win elections. The House did the right thing by keeping the reconciliation process going. We sent this bill to the Senate and on to conference where the two bills will be merged and refined. For Democrats, the

time for political posturing is over, and the time for deficit reduction is now.

TRIBUTE TO REAR ADM. A.
PUTNAM STORRS

HON. RANDY "DUKE" CUNNINGHAM

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in remembrance of a great American, and aviation pioneer, Rear Adm. A. Putnam Storrs.

After graduating from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1923, Rear Admiral Storrs went on to Pensacola, FL, where he ranked second in his class of 50 aviators. Soon after, he began flying a Boeing F-2B biplane in San Diego, CA, and started training in acrobatic flight with two other young Navy pilots. Tying 20 foot ropes to the wings of each plane to practice stunts, the trio went on to form the Three Seahawks, the Navy's first aerial stunt team and predecessor to the Blue Angels. When the Three Seahawks went public, they astonished crowds at a San Francisco air show, and in my hometown of San Diego, they performed at the inauguration of Lindbergh Field.

It wasn't too long before three Army Air Corps pilots formed their own flying squad named the Three Musketeers. The Musketeers and Seahawks flew to Los Angeles to perform at what is now Los Angeles International Airport [LAX]. All did not fly back. One by one the Musketeers crashed. The Navy split up the Seahawks and Rear Admiral Storrs was sent to Washington, DC, where he quietly formed a new Navy air trio. They flew Congressmen, the President's sons and daily newspapers to Franklin D. Roosevelt's Presidential yacht.

To the Admiral, one of the great flying machines was the Consolidated PBY patrol plane. In 1937, judging that war with Japan was imminent, the Navy instructed him to take a squadron of PBY's to Hawaii. He led 17 PBY's on a record 17 hour, 17 minute flight to the islands. Just after Japan's December 7, 1941, sneak attack on Pearl Harbor, Rear Admiral Storrs viewed from the air the first ship he had served on, sunken in Pearl Harbor: the U.S.S. *Oklahoma*. And on the bombed airfields, he saw the wreckage of squadron YP-4F, the PBY's he had led in 1937.

Rear Admiral Storrs distinguished career continued as he went on to skipper the floating camera lab for the atomic bomb test at Bikini atoll and was the first captain of the carrier U.S.S. *Coral Sea*.

Even after he retired in 1957, Rear Admiral Storrs' love for aviation continued as he helped to bring Hawaii's civilian airfields into statehood as head of Honolulu's International Airport.

Rear Admiral Storrs passed away on March 6, 1993, at the age of 91. He was one of the giants of American aviation, who made an enormous contribution to the development of air power. Admiral Storrs led the way for later generations of aviators like myself, and left a lasting mark on aviation history.

Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege for me to have this opportunity to honor Rear Adm. A. Put-

nam Storrs for his distinguished career and his exemplary service to our country. I know my colleagues join me in saluting this aviation pioneer and great naval hero.

RETIREMENT OF DICK ROSSER,
PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL
ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT
COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mr. FORD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take a moment to pay tribute to a good friend and fellow Michigander, Richard F. Rosser, president of the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities and the National Institute of Independent Colleges and Universities. Dick will retire this month after almost 7 years of service as one of the leading advocates for higher education in the United States. Few will equal his ardor in defending the right of all Americans to a quality college education.

I am very proud to have worked closely with Dick and his capable staff on many issues affecting higher education over the years. The National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities [NAICU] represents a very important segment of our system of higher education—the Nation's private colleges and universities, which enroll more than 2.8 million students. These institutions form the backbone of our system of higher education, and their traditions run back to the founding days of the Republic.

Many of you know that the State of Michigan has a strong tradition of independent higher education, with institutions such as Adrian College, Calvin College, Cleary College, Concordia College, Kalamazoo College, Madonna University, and the University of Detroit—Mercy. Nationally, just as in Michigan, these schools reflect the diversity of private, nonprofit higher education in the United States. In all, NAICU represents over 800 institutions, including liberal arts colleges, major research universities, historically black colleges, women's colleges, and faith- and church-related colleges—among them the University of Denver, where I received my bachelor's and law degrees.

Our Nation's independent colleges and universities are providing our country with the leaders of tomorrow—in science, economics, government, and the arts. Perhaps even more important is the fact that these schools are helping to maintain the diversity of opinion and philosophy that have made us a great nation, particularly the many faith-related colleges and universities—Baptist, Jewish, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Quaker, and Roman Catholic.

During his years at NAICU, Dick has championed the right of all Americans to obtain a degree from the college or university of their choice, and has strongly advocated increased financial aid, national service, student loan reforms, and minority scholarships. He has decried our national shift toward loans over grants, and called for important revisions in

the Tax Code that will maintain the vital flow of resources to charitable and educational organizations.

Dick arrived in Washington with a solid background in academic leadership. I'd like to think that he gained most of it at Albion College in Albion, MI, where he was dean of the faculty from 1973 to 1977, but he was already well on his way by then.

A native of Arcanum, OH, Dick graduated from Ohio Wesleyan University with Phi Beta Kappa honors in 1951. After earning a master's degree in public administration in 1952 at Syracuse University, he served his country by entering the Air Force as a second lieutenant. In the Air Force, he studied Russian and served 4 years in intelligence before returning to Syracuse in 1958 to complete his doctorate in political science.

Dick was then assigned to the teaching faculty at the Air Force Academy in 1959, receiving his Ph.D. in 1961. He was appointed head of the Academy's political science department in 1967, and a year later was promoted to the rank of colonel and received a Presidential appointment as a permanent professor.

Dick retired from the Air Force Academy in 1973 to become dean of the faculty at Albion. In 1977, he took his Michigan experience to Greencastle, IN, when he was named president of DePauw University.

During his 10 years as president, DePauw achieved three successive records for capital gifts, had record participation for alumni giving, and enrolled its largest class of new students. He instituted a campuswide program, new competency programs, and a new academic center for management and entrepreneurship before taking the helm at NAICU in 1986.

And now Dick, and his lovely wife, Donna, will retire to beautiful Traverse City, MI, where they will pursue their love of sailing. Though he is leaving Washington, I suspect I'll be still hearing from him. I would just like to take this opportunity to recognize him, and thank him for his lifetime of service to higher education.

PARTNERSHIP FOR LONG-TERM
CARE ACT OF 1993

HON. BARBARA B. KENNELLY

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mrs. KENNELLY. Mr. Speaker, the elderly of this Nation have spoken. I think that our experience with the Catastrophic Health Care Act makes that clear. The elderly of this Nation, and their families, need long-term health care.

They would like a new entitlement program, but frankly we all know that we can't afford one at this time. That is why, Mr. Speaker, I am introducing the Partnership for Long-term Care Act of 1989 which does three things.

The first, and the cornerstone, is a Medicaid asset-waiver program. It is premised on individuals, young and old, taking some responsibility for their own long-term care needs. To the extent that a certified insurance policy pays for long-term care services, these payments are subtracted from covered assets for Medicaid eligibility purposes. For example, assume individuals A, B, & C all purchase long-term care insurance.

Individual A has \$25,000 of insurance and \$25,000 of assets. To the extent that \$25,000 of long-term care expenses are paid out by the insurance company, A becomes eligible for Medicaid long-term care services and is allowed to retain \$25,000 of assets.

Individual B has \$25,000 of insurance and \$100,000 of assets. To the extent that \$25,000 of long-term care expenses are paid out by the insurance company, B only has to spend the difference between \$75,000 and the State Medicaid eligibility level (about \$2,000) to be Medicaid eligible and is allowed to retain \$25,000 worth of assets.

Individual C has \$25,000 of assets and \$35,000 of insurance. To the extent that \$35,000 of long-term care expenses are paid out by the insurance company, C becomes Medicaid eligible and retains \$25,000 of assets.

Now the computer modeling my State of Connecticut has done, indicates that the insurance is most likely to be purchased by middle-income individuals and that these individuals are mostly likely to avail themselves of option C. This may seem trivial, however it has important fiscal policy implications. To the extent that individuals elect option C, Medicaid saves the difference—the extent to which insurance protection exceeds assets.

The Connecticut Office of Policy and Management developed the asset waiver model. I think the project has tremendous social and economic potential—social in that our seniors, and their families will be able to plan for much of their own long-term care needs, and economic in the form of a valuable new insurance market which results in the savings of valuable Medicaid dollars by the State and Federal Governments.

The second component of my bill assures that our scarce public resources are targeted to those who need assistance. Some States have set Medicaid eligibility levels as low as 25 percent of poverty. Therefore, I would require States to establish a medically needy program for individuals below the poverty line. I would also provide a Federal premium subsidy for those who cannot otherwise afford private long-term care insurance—that is the difference between the cost of insurance and 5 percent of gross income.

Although the market for private long-term care insurance is now in its second and third generation of policies, the market has grown dramatically in the past few years. Therefore, the third component would clarify Federal tax law in several areas to encourage individuals to purchase long-term care policies, employers to offer employees long-term care insurance, and clarify the treatment of long-term care insurance reserves.

I know that the administration is looking at ways to reduce the costs associated with long term care in the health reform legislation. I hope that this bill is a valuable addition to this debate.

DEARBORN PRESS AND GUIDE MARKS 75TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, It was 75 years ago today that the first edition of the Dearborn Press newspaper appeared on the streets of the village of Dearborn, MI, proclaiming its faith in the future growth and prosperity of the community.

That faith has proven well founded, and Dearborn today is a large and thriving city with good local government, and with a strong industrial base anchored by the Ford Motor Co. The newspaper has changed ownership over the years, and has merged, becoming the Press and Guide. Today's Press and Guide is proud to be one of the Heritage Newspapers.

Through its history the newspaper has reported on the people and events of the city: the growth and change at Ford; the emergence of the labor unions; war, peace, prosperity, and hard times.

I invite my colleagues to join me in saluting a fine example of community newspapering on its 75th anniversary.

KATE SARGENT, FRANCIS SCOTT KEY POETRY CONTEST RE- GIONAL WINNER

HON. DICK SWETT

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mr. SWETT. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize one of my constituents, Kate Sargent of Sunapee, NH, regional winner of the Francis Scott Key poetry contest. On this day set aside to honor our Nation's flag, it is appropriate to consider what the flag symbolizes to the young people of today.

Kate Sargent is one of eight sixth graders from across the country who is being honored as a regional winner of the poetry contest sponsored by the Francis Scott Key Foundation and the National Society of Daughters of the American Revolution. Over 3,000 entries were received for the contest, all lyrical poems set to music in the tradition of Francis Scott Key.

On September 13 and 14, 1814, Key was held on a British vessel after negotiating a prisoner exchange. The sight of the U.S. flag flying over Fort McHenry so inspired him that he began to write "The Defense of Fort McHenry." Set to music and renamed "The Star-Spangled Banner," it became our official national anthem in 1931.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to read Miss Sargent's poem, entitled "The American Flag." It is written to the tune of the song "Everything I Do, I Do It For You," by Bryan Adams.

Look up to the flag and you will see, how it came to be.

It's not just material, it flies within my loving soul.

Don't tell me I can't salute my flag.

Can't tell me what I can and cannot do. The flag is true.

Everything it does, it does it for you.
It is made with love, pure love, that no one can deny.

Love it while you can, heart and soul;
Cause you'll only have one chance, I know.
We know it will always wave to us.

All we have to do is love it.
Yes, I know it will always wave to us.
Red, white and blue will never fade.

They're our colors.

Yes, they soar round the country, all the time, everywhere.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to congratulate Kate Sargent on the recognition of her eloquent poem and ask my colleagues to consider what the flag of the United States of America means to all of us.

THE CLINTON TAX SURPRISE

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN, JR.

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, ironically, the President is telling Americans that he is taxing them for their own good to reduce the deficit and boost economic growth. What he fails to tell us is that the poor will become poorer and Government entitlement programs will be inflated.

It is estimated that 20 million taxpayers making between \$10,000 and \$30,000 a year will be hit with some form of higher taxes. In addition, prices will go up for everybody on everything.

A recent column by Paul Craig Roberts which appeared in the Knoxville News-Sentinel and other newspapers around the Nation makes this very same point on President Clinton's tax plan.

Mr. Roberts says at one point:

Altogether, he wants to expand welfare programs by more than \$10 billion a year in order to offset the impact of the energy tax. Clinton's offset proposal is a striking admission that taxes make people poorer—and that he is willing to do so in order to grow the government.

I urge all my colleagues and other readers of the RECORD to thoughtfully consider this article.

[From the Knoxville News-Sentinel; May 30, 1993]

CLINTON TAX PLAN TO AMBUSH U.S. PUBLIC (By Paul Craig Roberts)

New embarrassments are in store for President Clinton as his tax plan gets closer scrutiny. Originally, Clinton promised higher taxes only for the rich. But the Senate Finance Committee has discovered there are approximately 20 million taxpayers making between \$10,000 and \$30,000 a year who will be hit with higher energy taxes.

Clinton kept this fact secret from the tax-writing committee by using a bureaucratic construction known as Family Economic Income, which was designed by Treasury bureaucrats to deceive the public. Unlike Adjusted Gross Income, the measure of income used to calculate income tax, FEI is an expanded measure that includes many non-taxable items such as fringe benefits and the imputed rental value of owner-occupied housing.

For example, the way Clinton measures income, a taxpayer with an adjusted gross income of \$20,000 could be counted as earning

\$30,000 if he lived in a home that could be rented for \$500 a month and had \$2,000 in employer-paid health benefits and a \$2,000 pension contribution.

Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen is so embarrassed by how deeply Clinton's tax proposals reach into lower-income pockets that he refuses to provide the Finance Committee with tables showing the impact of Clinton's tax proposals on an AGI basis.

Bentsen's refusal to come clean tells the Finance Committee all it needs to know; the committee cannot report the president's tax bill to the Senate floor for a vote without participating in the grand deception. Clinton can rant and rave all he wants about "special interests" ambushing his tax bill, but the senators know that it is the American people that Clinton is ambushing by pretending to tax only the rich.

Another shoe is about to drop. Clinton, who claims to be pro-family and pro-women, has an increase in the marriage penalty as a key feature of his tax increase plan. The tax increase on spousal income can rise as much as 10 percentage points—especially on professional women who tend to count themselves among the ranks of feminists.

These women, already harassed by demands of family and career, are being told by President Clinton that they should get less for their efforts.

Bill Clinton is pro-government. He believes that taxpayers have a moral obligation to solve the government's financial problems so that government can grow larger and spend more.

Clinton even uses the energy tax increase itself as an excuse to expand government spending programs. To protect the poor from the tax, he proposes to expand the food stamp program, the Low Income Energy Assistance program, and the Earned Income Tax Credit—a program that pays taxpayer dollars to people who don't earn enough to be taxpayers.

Altogether, he wants to expand welfare programs by more than \$10 billion a year in order to offset the impact of the energy tax. Clinton's offset proposal is a striking admission that taxes make people poorer—and that he is willing to do so in order to grow the government.

The bottom line is that Clinton represents no one but the government. He epitomizes the ideology of what George Will calls the new class of public sector lifers. He wants to smash the power of lobbyists and special interests not in order to give us back control over our government, but in order to remove the only impediments to Washington's unfettered exercise of control over our lives and pocketbooks.

Clinton has turned on moderate Democrats with fury, depicting Senator Boren from Oklahoma as a puppet for rich oil barons. But it is not the oil barons who will pay the energy tax. Clinton placed the tax on our electricity bills, our heating and air-conditioning bills, our transportation bills, and it will be added to the price of every good and service we use. If the oil barons were targeted by the tax, Clinton could not propose to expand the welfare state in order to protect the poor from the tax.

Clinton's concern with the poor is due to one fact only. It is the only class left that can be said to benefit from government and, therefore, the only class that can be used as an excuse for expanding the power of government. Clinton's economic program is designed to enlarge the ranks of the poor and, thus, to shore up the crumbling foundations of big government.

NTU CONDUCTS STUDY REGARDING LEGISLATION ADVOCATED BY AARP

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, as a result of the nationwide concern about the budget deficit and the national debt, Americans have sent a clear message to Washington calling for spending cuts and fiscal responsibility. In the midst of this grassroots fervor is the legislative agenda of the American Association of Retired Persons [AARP], the largest member association in the United States. Recently, the National Taxpayer's Union [NTU] completed an analysis of the legislation advocated by AARP's leadership and concluded that these proposals would increase Federal spending by more than \$1 trillion over the next decade if they were enacted.

In addition, the study raises concerns that AARP's membership is not involved in setting the organization's legislative priorities and that many AARP members may be unaware of the proposals that are being advocated ostensibly on their behalf. Indeed, it is disturbing to think that the same senior citizens that have written to me and my colleagues urging us to make spending cuts and not to raise taxes on their Social Security benefits are at the same time unknowingly supporting increased spending through their membership in AARP. With this concern in mind, I submit the following summary of NTU's study to my colleagues' attention. For further information, my colleagues can obtain a complete copy of this study by contacting NTU.

AARP LEGISLATIVE AGENDA COSTED AT OVER \$1 TRILLION—TAXPAYER GROUP SAYS RETIREES' ASSOCIATION WOULD BANKRUPT AMERICA

WASHINGTON, DC.—The National Taxpayer Union Foundation (NTUF) today released an analysis of the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) legislative agenda, revealing that the 34 million member lobbying and marketing conglomerate is advocating policies that would increase annual federal spending by at least \$1 trillion over the coming decade—equal to an additional tax bill of almost \$10,000 per American family.

According to the NTUF study—"What Its Members Don't Know: How the AARP Agenda Would Bankrupt America"—AARP would radically accelerate the spiral of higher spending, taxes and deficits that threaten the nation's economic future. AARP's lobbying activities are funded by \$300 million in annual profits from its \$10 billion business empire. The association has long been regarded as one of the most powerful lobbies on Capitol Hill.

James D. Davidson, chairman of the NTUF, said the study is the first in a series of reports designed to shed light on the role of unaccountable lobbies in precipitating America's chronic deficits. "If Americans want to know why Congress can't balance the budget, they need look no farther than AARP," Davidson said. "Most AARP members have no idea what is being advocated in their name."

The NTUF report, the first of its kind, develops detailed cost estimates for more than 100 separate increases in spending and taxes

called for in AARP's 400-page 1992 federal legislative agenda. In its analysis, NTUF found that last year AARP backed:

New spending of at least \$300 billion in 1993, much of it in fast-growing health care programs that could double in cost over the next 10 years.

Spending increases to maintain current services under existing programs that will cause annual outlays to balloon by more than \$700 billion by 2003.

Tax increases—higher income, gas, alcohol and tobacco taxes, and a new consumption tax—that could raise the tax bills of AARP members by at least half.

The study's author, Paul S. Hewitt, NTUF vice president for research, criticized AARP for claiming to represent its members before Congress. "AARP members have no voice in setting the association's policy agenda, nor can they prevent its lobbyists from making false representations in their name," Hewitt said. "It is a case of 34 million people, united by airline discounts, having their trust abused."

Among NTUF's other findings:

AARP's lobbyists squelch internal or external debate through bylaws that permit the Board of Directors to expel members who criticize the lobby or its products. AARP's volunteers and members must accept these severe limits on their freedom of expression, or risk getting kicked out.

AARP's Washington staff exercises tight control over the association's 3,600 local chapters through bylaws that prohibits members from obtaining lists of other members. This provision effectively prevents factions from forming within the AARP membership.

The AARP volunteer leadership—members of all boards and advisory councils—is vetted by the association's Washington lobbyists to ensure political conformity. As a result, most board members are retired teachers or government employees.

Hewitt also accused AARP of systematically misinforming its members and the Congress on important policy issues and he stated that the association "has become a master at political illusion." A case in point, he said, was AARP's role in the passage of the Catastrophic Health Care Act in 1988. "AARP developed misleading studies on the cost of the program and gave Congress the false impression that senior citizens supported higher taxes and spending," Hewitt said. AARP's members subsequently revolted against the \$9 billion in taxes increases contained in the measure, forcing AARP lobbyists to advocate repeal.

Just last year, AARP led special interest opposition to the Balanced Budget Amendment, despite polls that showed the vast majority of its members supported the amendment.

NTUF Chairman Davidson called on AARP members to get better control over their lobbyists or look elsewhere for consumer bargains. "AARP's program of product discounts is great," he said. "But it's not worth a piece of your political soul to save a few bucks. AARP members need to understand that their lobbyists are pushing policies that would bankrupt America."

A detailed accounting of AARP's legislative agenda, together with the report, is available from the National Taxpayers Union Federation. NTUF is a non-profit, non-partisan research organization affiliated with the 200,000-member National Taxpayers Union in Washington, D.C.

IN SUPPORT OF DEMOCRACY IN
ALGERIA

HON. CRAIG A. WASHINGTON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 14, 1993

Mr. WASHINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to discuss the issue of democracy and human rights in the world. The nineties heralded the emergence of a new era, and the rise of a new world order, a world where democracy will prevail and people can live in freedom, irrespective of race or creed. The United States won the cold war, and, with that, emerged as the leader of the free world. With that right came a heavy responsibility to ensure that all people can live freely without the oppression of totalitarian government.

The crisis in Bosnia demonstrates that we cannot look the other way and hope that others will stop the slaughter and massacre of thousands of men, women and children. Our continued inaction will only lead to the loss of more civilian lives.

Mr. Speaker, as the world's attention is focused on Bosnia, another crisis has been brewing for over a year now, in Algeria. The question of democracy and human rights in Algeria is an important one for the world because it is a clear-cut case of how a people's will which was expressed at the ballot box was thwarted through the barrel of a gun. The ramifications of this issue extend far beyond Algeria, because it sets a bad example of how democracy does not work when it threatens the interests of those who have a monopoly on State power.

Unfortunately, because of the Islamist nature of the opposition movement, the world decided to support an unelected government by default. Never mind that many experts believe that this would have been the best test case for the compatibility of Islamism and democratic principles.

As a result, violent attacks against the government have increased. It is an unfortunate lesson to other nations contemplating democratization to see that the free world would allow democracy to be hijacked in this manner, leaving violence to become the order of the day.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to include, in my extension of remarks, an excerpt from an insightful article published in the summer 1992 issue of *Foreign Affairs* and written by the well known and respected author Robin Wright.

ISLAM, DEMOCRACY AND THE WEST

(By Robin Wright)

Thirteen years after the Iranian Revolution wrought the world's first modern theocracy, Islam is once again emerging as a powerful political idiom. Not only in the Middle East, but from north and west Africa to the former Asian republics of the Soviet Union, from India to western China, Islam is increasingly a defining force in evolving political agendas. The new burst of activism has reached such proportions that, with the demise of communism, Islam is increasingly—and erroneously—being perceived as one of the future ideological rivals to the West.

The latest phase began in the late 1980s. It varies distinctly from the Islamic experience in Iran in 1979, in Lebanon after 1982 and

among a host of smaller cells in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Syria and elsewhere during the late 1970s and early 1980s. The two most conspicuous differences are the constituency and tactics of the new Islamists.¹

II

The first phase was more often associated with Shiite Muslims, Islam's so-called second sect.² Besides the Iranian Revolution, groups such as Lebanon's Hezbollah and Iraq's Dawa, which also operated on the Shiite-populated eastern shores of the Arabian peninsula, accounted for the most visible and enduring activism.³ The recent resurgence of Islam, however, is more prevalent among the mainstream Sunni, who account for at least 85 percent of the world's one billion Muslims. The Sunni are also spread more widely through the 75 nations that constitute Dar al Islam, or House of Islam. With the exceptions of Lebanon, Iraq, Iran and Yemen, the Sunni dominate countries stretching from Africa to the Levant, the Arabian peninsula, across the southern tier of the new Commonwealth of Independent States, into western China, south Asia and as far east as Indonesia, the most populous Muslim state.

Unlike the extremism that typified the first resurgence—in political upheavals as well as suicide bombings, hijackings and hostage seizures—the new Islamic activism is now characterized by attempts to work within the system rather than outside it. Since 1989, for example, Islamists from diverse groups have run for parliament in Jordan and Algeria. Indonesia's largest Muslim movement, which has supported from up to 40 million people, has held peaceful rallies this year to urge democratic reforms in the authoritarian state. Since the dismemberment of the Soviet Union in 1991, Islamists in the former Central Asian republics have petitioned for legal recognition, to end years as underground movements, so they can run for public office.

Reasons for the new preference for ballots over bullets vary within each country and movement, but they generally reflect an acknowledgment that the costs of extremism in the 1980s proved too high. Iran's isolation, for example, forced it backward economically, not forward. Also the demise of communism starkly illustrated the joint dangers of totalitarian rule and confrontation with the West. Islamists have not failed to recognize that pluralism and interdependence are the catchwords of the 1990s.

Cooperation has by no means fully replaced confrontation. But in key regions Islamists are no longer simply striking out angrily at what they do not like. After centuries marked mainly by dormancy, colonialism and failed experiments with Western ideologies, many Islamists feel they have a mandate to create constructive alternatives. Further pressed by the same factors that have led to political and economic transformations globally, a growing number of Islamists are now trying to reconcile moral and religious tenets with modern life, political competition and free markets. Few Islamists, as yet, have suitable or complete answers. The common campaign slogan, "Islam is the solution," remains simplistically inadequate.

Politicized Islam is not alone. At the end of the twentieth century, religion has become an energetic and dynamic force for change worldwide. Among the struggling societies attempting both to rid themselves of bankrupt or inefficient systems and to find viable alternatives, religion provides ideals,

identity, legitimacy and an infrastructure during the search. In varying degrees. Buddhists in east Asia, Catholics in eastern Europe, Latin America and the Philippines, Sikhs and Hindus in India and even Jews in Israel have turned to their faith to define their goals and to mobilize.

The various attempts within Islam, however, also reflect a deeper quest—one that could make the Islamists' impact broader or more lasting, because Islam is the only major monotheistic religion that offers not only a set of spiritual beliefs but a set of rules by which to govern society. Besides the challenge of finding a place in the new global order, Islam is now at a pivotal and profound moment of evolution, a juncture increasingly equated with the Protestant Reformation. The traditional role of the faith, its leadership, organization, priorities and interpretation, are also under scrutiny.

The challenge focus is reflected even in the names. The first phase of the Islamic resurgence was often symbolized by a host of groups—in Lebanon, Egypt and Israel's occupied territories—named Islamic Jihad, or Holy War, while the latest activism is most noted for groups—from Tunisia to Tajikistan—called the Islamic Renaissance Party. The challenge is as much within Islam as in the countries and systems in which Muslims live. In many ways Islamic societies now find themselves in the opening rounds of what the West went through in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in redefining both the relationship between God and man and between man and man.

The challenge for Islamists is all the greater because the political climate—at home and in the international arena—is hardly conducive to reforms or experimentation, much less full expression. The specter of Iran's revolutionary excesses and Lebanon's terrorist zealotry continues to color local and Western attitudes toward Islam. Despite the growing body of evidence to the contrary, Islam is still widely—and again wrongly—perceived as inherently extremist. Despite the many shades and shapes of Islamic activism, it is also still wrongly treated as a single or monolithic force.

III

The spectrum of new Islamist activism is reflected strikingly in two geographic extremes of the Muslim world: North Africa and Central Asia. In both areas since 1990 Islam has become one of the principal challenges to socialist rule. Both regions present a challenge as the West tries to define its relationship with Islam after years of tension.

Algeria has become the primary test case for the compatibility of Islam and democracy. Islamic activism emerged in Algeria when President Chadli Bendjedid ended socialist one-party rule after growing public discontent was capped in 1988 by riots in which at least 400 people were killed. In the first phase of a three-part transition the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) won a stunning upset in the 1990 local elections, capturing more than 60 percent of regional assemblies and 55 percent of municipal councils. The National Liberation Front (FLN), which had ruled since leading Algeria's eight-year war against French colonialism, came in an embarrassingly poor second.

The election, the first free multiparty poll since independence in 1962, was as much a rejection of the FLN as a vote of support for the Islamists. Almost three decades of inefficient and increasingly corrupt rule had finally caught up with the FLN. By 1992 at least 14 million of Algeria's 25 million population were estimated to live below the poverty line. With a \$25 billion foreign debt that

Footnotes at end of article.

consumed almost 70 percent of its oil revenues, the government had little left to address mass grievances over chronic housing shortages, unemployment, substandard education and social services and limited development. And with 65 percent of the population under the age of 30, the majority had no memory of, much less nostalgia for, the Algerian revolution.

In contrast the energetic Islamists offered a legitimate and familiar alternative, if not a very detailed program. Their appeal was also reflected in their response to a strike called during the election by gas stations, newspapers and even trash collectors. After mounds of garbage accumulated on the streets of the Mediterranean capital, Islamists mobilized supporters to clean up the refuse with their hands. The Islamists' commitment was in stark contrast to the malaise within the FLN.

Because of the large rejectionist vote in local elections, the second phase of the transition, elections for parliament, was expected to be a more accurate reading of the public's political will. In the first round in December 1991, which fielded more than fifty parties, FIS captured 188 of the 231 seats decided, only 28 short of a majority. This time the FLN came in third, with only 15 seats, trailing after the Berber-dominated party, the Socialist Forces Front, which won 25. Hamas, another Islamic party, came in fourth. Although the FIS total was a million less than during the local elections, it appeared set to win a decisive parliamentary majority in the second round for 199 undecided seats scheduled for January 16, 1992.

The two elections represented a political milestone. No Islamic party since the Iranian Revolution had won such an overwhelming victory, and no Islamic party had ever definitively defeated a long-dominant power through democratic means.

But the world's first Islamic democracy never had a chance to prove itself. Five days before the second round of elections, a "white coup" led by Defense Minister Khaled Nezzar forced Bendjedid to resign. He was replaced with a five-man High State Council, and elections were then suspended. Over the following weeks, the FIS leadership was detained and the party banned. At least 8,800 sympathizers or supporters of both FIS and Hamas—some claimed the figure was as high as 30,000—were also rounded up by late March and dispatched to detention camps in the southern Sahara desert. In an attempt to revoke the results of the 1990 local elections, dozens of mayors and many regional assembly leaders who had won power on the FIS ticket were also arrested; the assemblies were dissolved.

Islamists were the target, but democracy was the ultimate victim. The Algerian junta has hinted that it might follow through with the final phase of the transition, presidential elections, due in late 1993; but FIS is unlikely to be included. Indeed the new government's strategy is to use the interim—with the help of foreign aid and loans and by selling off oil and gas rights—to address the grievances that led the electorate to vote for FIS. The council also reportedly favors rewriting the constitution to prevent future attempts by Islamists to enter politics. On April 29, Algeria's Supreme Court ordered the FIS dissolved.

The junta, however, is unlikely to survive. The Algerian coup was in many ways like the abortive Moscow putsch in 1991; although the process may take longer, it will fail for similar reasons. Bendjedid's phased transition to pluralism produced more than just

multiple parties. From a handful of newspapers under state control, Algeria's press soared to dozens of diverse and increasingly outspoken publications. Once-cloistered debate moved into open forums, while public interest groups, including a human rights movement, began to flourish. Most of all, Algerians, particularly the disaffected, tasted empowerment and liked it; its indefinite suppression will eventually produce a backlash.

The junta's tactics have also been crass. To lead the new ruling council, the military brought back Mohammed Boudiaf, an aging revolutionary hero who fell out with his cohorts in 1963 and has lived in exile ever since. The detentions were ruthless. When security forces were unable to find a wanted Islamist, they merely picked up another family member. Many detainees have undergone summary trials and have been sentenced to two to twenty years in prison. The government also banned all public gatherings around mosques and even moved to replace 40 percent of the leaders of Algeria's 9,000 mosques; scores of imams (Islamic religious leaders) were among those detained. Algerians have not experienced such repression since the war for independence.

But the junta is most likely to fail because it has given new legitimacy to the very force it sought to suppress—Islam. After the coup, the FLN fragmented into factions for and against the putsch, while opposition parties were unable to mobilize effectively against the junta. In the disarray, FIS was left as the force pushing hardest for democracy.

The movement's remarkable discipline after the coup helped. Despite the riot police and army cordons around key mosques, FIS leaders repeatedly urged restraint. "The army has a scenario for us, but it is a role we will not play. We will not respond to provocation," acting FIS leader Abdelkader Hachani told thousands of the faithful at Friday prayers.⁴ Although FIS is a multifaceted movement with factions that favor different levels of activism, as well as differing versions of Islamic democracy, it was visibly united in trying to prevent bloodshed.

Even after the mass arrests, FIS demands two months after the coup were limited to release of political detainees, an end to persecution of Islamists, a dialogue with all political parties and resumption of elections. Notably it did not call for jihad. Most of the sporadic hit-and-run attacks, particularly against Algerian security forces, were linked to a host of small and loosely organized Islamic extremist cells not under FIS control. Among them were Hijra wa Takfir, or Sin and Atonement, and the Afghans, so-named for their participation in the Afghan war against Soviet occupation in the 1980s; many were reportedly trained by the CIA in Pakistan. Despite the temptation, FIS did not abandon democracy to achieve its goals.

IV

For the Arab and Muslim worlds, Algeria is not simply a test case of the affinity of Islam and democracy. It is also a test of whether the West can reconcile with Islam. On that count the West's record is only marginally better than the junta's.

After the Algerian coup, Western reaction was notable largely for its passivity. The U.S. State Department officially "regretted" the suspension of the democratic process in Algeria and then fell silent. Several Western governments allowed the junta's representatives to pay official visits to explain their plans and goals. Some even considered aid. A consortium of European and American banks provided \$1.45 billion to help Algeria spread out the servicing of its debt.

Before the U.N. General Assembly last fall, President Bush said: "People everywhere seek government of and by the people. And they want to enjoy their inalienable rights to freedom and property and person." The United States, he added, supported those rights globally. If Algeria is any example, however, there is an implicit exception: any country where Islam is the winner of a democratic election.⁵

The lack of U.S. response, at a time when the Bush administration is active and outspoken in advocating political pluralism, makes it appear that the White House prefers a police state to an Islamic democracy. Indeed the absence of an international outcry or Western condemnation—as there was, for example, after Peru's president suspended the constitution and dissolved parliament in April—has encouraged the junta to pursue its course, a fact FIS has publicly noted. The FIS platform remains uncomfortably vague. Its achievements in Algeria's municipalities during 18 months in power were mixed, in no small part because of disputes with FLN governors over budget allocations and priorities. Despite FIS reassurances, other Algerian parties feared the Islamists would eventually ban them and declare a theocracy, as happened in Iran.

Yet Algeria was arguably one of the best places to experiment with Islamic democracy. First, as a Mediterranean country, it is still strongly influenced by the nearby West, unlike Iran where the West had a strong arm but was physically distant. Algerian Islamists have, so far, been unusually sensitive to the West's fears.

Second, the core issue in Islamicizing societies is implementation of sharia, Islamic law, as either a source or the source of law—a step not necessarily incompatible with Western interests. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, both of which have close ties with the West, are but two of many Islamic countries where sharia holds sway.

Third, with presidential elections not scheduled until 1993, the transition had a built-in restraint. Whatever majority FIS won in parliament, Bendjedid still would have had veto power over any drastic changes to the constitution for the first two years.

Finally, it would have been preferable to have the Islamists accountable in public office rather than operating as clandestine cells outside the system. The coup has encouraged violence, ironically, much as French repression against Algerian demands for independence ignited one of the longest and bloodiest wars in the Third World.

Unfortunately too much time has now passed to go back. In Algeria the Islamists are virtually certain to prevail. The question is what will happen to FIS along the way. Over time the junta's draconian tactics may polarize, even divide, the dominant Islamist movement, giving the upper hand to fiery young preachers like Ali Benhaj rather than thoughtful and temperate FIS leaders like Hachani, a petrochemical engineer, and philosophy professor Abassi Madani. In late March a FIS statement said the government's refusal to engage in dialogue and its repressive tactics could lead supporters to respond with force to "return the right of the people to choose those who will govern them." The formal order to dissolve FIS virtually ensures a more militant response. And what happens in Algeria is certain to influence other parts of the Islamic world.

For the West the danger is that its reluctance to pressure the junta, or even to speak out against it, will be seen as an inherently

anti-Islamic sentiment even when Islamists work through the democratic process. That perception could have long-term consequences beyond Algeria. The end result of the Algerian coup is likely to be costly for virtually everyone but the military junta.

v

Another vital new region of growing Islamist sentiment is in the former Soviet republics of Central Asia. Five predominantly Muslim states have become independent since the August 1991 Moscow putsch: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Four of the five are the last bastions of strict communist rule. The exception is Kyrgyzstan although, like its neighbors, communists will control its parliament.

Islam is not new to Central Asian politics. It was one of the unifying forces in the region as far back as the eighth century. During the medieval reigns of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane in Turkestan, Islam reached its glory with contributions in science and the arts that still account for many of the region's greatest accomplishments and monuments. Although its influence varied widely among the largely nomadic tribes and clans of the mountains and steppes, Islam thrived until tsarist Russia absorbed Turkestan in the nineteenth century and began denigrating the religion.

After Bolshevik revolutionaries refused to grant the region autonomy, Islam was still sufficiently strong to be one of two mobilizing forces in the subsequent six-year civil war. In 1920 Basmachi rebels secretly declared a new state, the Turkestan Independent Islamic Republic. It never had a chance, however, against Russian troops. To prevent further pan-Islamic and pan-Turkic nationalist movements, Stalin then carved up old Turkestan, rather arbitrarily, into the five current states and flooded Central Asia with Russian settlers in the 1920s and 1930s.

Despite seven decades of religious repression, many of the 60 million Soviet Muslims managed to keep the faith alive by teaching and practicing it in homes and illegal mosques.⁶ And since the Soviet "freedom of conscience" law was passed in 1990 Central Asia has undergone a stunning Islamic resurgence. Some estimates claim that up to ten new mosques open daily in the mineral-rich region, which shares strategic borders with Russia, China, Iran and Afghanistan. The number of madrasahs, or seminaries, is also mushrooming, as is enrollment. More important to the region's political evolution are the various branches of the Islamic Renaissance Party. Although it finally managed to register in Moscow as a legal party in 1991, its activities were banned in four of the five Central Asian states because of communist fear of Islam as a political force.⁷

Over the next three years Central Asia—the most conservative region during Soviet rule—faces the challenge of major political change, particularly when it comes time to vote for the first post-Soviet parliaments. The contest will pit the stalwart communists, most now renamed, against the new democrats and emerging Islamists in all five states. Despite the precedents set in the European republics, the communists in Central Asia's parliaments show little sincere interest in opening up political systems. And despite more eager promises of economic liberalization, few have allowed the sale of valuable state properties that provide them with power, patronage and funds.

Unlike other Muslim societies, however, the Central Asians have never had direct or indirect exposure to democracy. Even in

Kyrgyzstan, which has the only genuine communist-turned democratic president, democracy remains an alien concept tied, in most people's minds, more to economic than political freedom. Leader of Kyrgyzstan's Democratic Movement believe it will take at least another generation before democracy is fully understood and takes root. Elsewhere, prodemocracy groups, such as Uzbekistan's Birlik and Tajikistan's Democratic Party, have so far attracted mainly the small intelligentsia.

In contrast, Central Asians are quite naturally returning to their cultural roots after more than 150 years of Russian colonialism. They are reverting to their Turkic and Persian languages and abandoning the Cyrillic alphabets imposed on both tongues by Moscow. The life-cycle rituals are being restored. In this context, Islam is certain to be a major factor in shaping the future.

Islam, however, is undergoing its own upheaval, pitting "official" leaders against "unofficial" Islam. During communist rule the new imams and a handful of mosques allowed to operate in Central Asia were approved, and therefore controlled, by the state. Since the late 1970s, dissident Muslims have been operating underground, mobilizing opposition to atheistic communist rule and practicing the faith in clandestine mosques. Most of the new mosques have been privately built by local populations; most are also more closely aligned with unofficial Islam. The changes have also been reflected in attempts to remove the leadership at Tashkent's Spiritual Directorate of Muslims of Central Asia, which was the Kremlin's mechanism of control.

At this stage the mainstream branches of the Islamic Renaissance Party have moderate goals. Most center around ending communist domination of the political, economic and religious hierarchies, restoring Islamic culture and outlawing alcohol, drugs and prostitution. Many have no objection to the relations Israel is now establishing with Central Asia.

While most favor adoption of sharia as a source of law, virtually none envision a theocracy run by the clergy or an Iranian-style Islamic republic in which other parties would be outlawed.⁸ The Islamic leader in Tajikistan, the only Farsi-speaking state in Central Asia, made a point of rejecting the Iranian model, pointing out differences between the Shia and the Sunni as well as Western and Russian fears of radical Islamic states.

In a series of interviews over the past year, Islamists throughout Central Asia and in north Africa have talked convincingly about crafting their own models of an Islamic democracy. Their versions, even within a single group, vary widely. Some suggest borrowing democratic aspects from secular Turkey and Islamic government practices from Pakistan, although they say neither country provides an ideal model. Few want to borrow anything except financial support from Saudi Arabia, the "Guardian of Islam" and site of its holiest shrines. All claim their versions of Islamic democracy would allow other parties and free speech, but would impose strict penalties on unIslamic practices such as alcohol, prostitution and drugs.

Many Islamists, in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan for example, also now coordinate with the new democrats. The most visible challenge to communist rule in Central Asia took place in Tajikistan last September when the new democrats and Islamists mobilized thousands of supporters for a peaceful vigil in Dushanbe to demand democratic

elections. They pledged not to take down their tent city across from the parliament until the acting president resigned. Facilitated by the Islamists, the rally was the largest and most effective protest against communist rule since the Basmachi uprising, and the communist government eventually agreed to hold democratic elections. This spring the Islamists and pro-democracy groups again cooperated in a prolonged but peaceful sit-in that forced the communist president to agree to from a national coalition government.

As in Algeria the test ahead plays out at both the local and international levels. The longer the Central Asian regimes delay real pluralism—allowing all parties to work within the system rather than outside it—the greater the danger of a more embittered, strident Islam emerging to challenge the ancient regimes.

Some are already tempting fate. The Uzbek leadership has restored religious holidays and returned religious property nationalized by the Soviets. Simultaneously, however, it has banned all religious parties from politics and the clergy from running for public office. In Kazakhstan, secular opposition parties have been legalized. In contrast, the first political detainees since independence were seven members of Alash, the local Islamic party named after the mythical leader of the Kazakhs. They were charged with "insulting the honor and dignity" of the president and holding unauthorized rallies. And throughout Central Asia, renamed communists are arguing that they should retain power to block politicized Islam.

The West has also taken a confrontational stand on Islam in Central Asia. Western officials, including Secretary of State James A. Baker, have recently toured the new Central Asian states to urge them to emulate secular Turkey rather than neighboring Islamic Iran during the transition to post-Soviet rule. Baker met with fledgling democrats in only one republic, Uzbekistan; in three visits he never met with a single Islamic leader. Although the United States stressed human rights and pluralism in its talks with central Asian leaders, the real message appears to be as much anti-Islam as pro-democracy.

The Bush administration is making the same mistakes in Central Asia and Algeria that the Carter administration made in Iran by backing away from the unknown Islamists before even trying to deal with them. Generally the West is not applying the most important lesson of the Cold War: cooption is far more effective than confrontation in undermining a rival, in this case one perceived rather than real. As in Algeria, the West would also be far better served by encouraging real democratic openings that include Islamists rather than tolerating authoritarian systems that exclude them.

Western alarm over Islamic activism also appears to be premature. Iran and Pakistan were the first two countries to heighten their presence in Central Asia; both opened diplomatic missions and discussed new cooperation and cultural ties. And Iran's Ali Akbar Velayati was the first foreign minister to tour the entire region last fall.

Rather than compete for influence, however, Iran has so far preferred cooperation, even with the current Central Asian leadership. At a Tehran summit in February, Iran, Pakistan and Turkey revived the Economic Cooperation Organization and expanded it to include Central Asia and Azerbaijan.⁹ Iran's economy is also now so deeply troubled that the post-Khomeini leadership is increasingly looking inward rather than to regional expansion. Its only direct intervention in the

former Soviet republics has so far been limited to peace efforts in nearby Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Central Asian Islamists are not interested in imitating Iran. Iran, in turn, does not have the resources or even the will to meddle significantly in Central Asia. After two wars in the Persian Gulf and another in neighboring Afghanistan, its interests are very specifically focused on economic development to prevent the whole region from becoming a backwater.

Indeed Iran's elections for majlis, or parliament, in April 1992 revealed the depth of change in even the Islamist movement's most fanatic proponent. To end opposition against opening up Iran's economy and foreign policy, the regime of President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani introduced a screening process that disqualified one-third of the more than 3,000 candidates, including 40 incumbents. Most were revolutionary hard-liners blocking economic reforms, such as privatization, foreign investment and overtures to the West; several were associated with the revolution's early judicial excesses and the 1979-81 takeover of the American embassy. Not surprisingly, the new majlis is filled with supporters of market reforms and diplomatic initiatives.

Iran's revolution still has a long way to go in rectifying human rights abuses at home and extremist tactics abroad. But Tehran's assistance last year in helping with the release of American and British hostages in Lebanon and its neutrality during Operation Desert Storm are further indications that Iran is willing to compromise, even occasionally concede, in order to reenter the community of nations. Although Iran is far from being an Islamic democracy, the example it is setting today differs significantly from the revolution's early years.

VI

The West and Islam have reached a crossroad in their relationship. The clash of the past 13 years—epitomized by the antagonism between the United States and Iran—need no longer serve as the paradigm. Unfortunately, despite the strong evidence of Islam's political appeal and its future potential, the United States and its Western allies still have no more tangible strategy to contend with Islam than they did after Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini forced the shah of Iran from the Peacock throne in 1979.

As Islamist sentiment grows, the West has two stark alternatives: one is to use this important juncture—when both democracy and Islam are growing—to press Muslim-dominated countries toward political pluralism and then to accept the results of free and fair democratic elections. By having sided with democracy from an early stage, the West will then be in a stronger position to hold new Islamic governments accountable if they abuse or abandon democratic principles—without being seen as anti-Islamic.

The incentive is to ease tensions between Western and Eastern cultures and countries. The next few years will be as important for democracy's evolution as for Islam's. For two millennia democracy has taken root only in Western cultures.¹⁰ One of the next major global challenges will be determining whether democracy is adaptable to Eastern countries, including Islamic and Confucian societies, and vice versa. This is a moment to encourage, rather than obstruct, Islam's expression in pluralist forms.

The second alternative is to try to counter or contain Islamist movements by backing or aiding governments that repress them. Such a policy could become as costly and

prolonged as fighting communism, and potentially more difficult. Challenging an ideology that is supported by a failed economic system is one thing; demonizing a centuries-old faith and culture is another. Moreover, as in the Cold War, the United States would have to cultivate some unsavory allies along the way. Many of the regimes most committed to blocking Islamist movements—ranging from Syria's Hafez al-Assad to Libya's Muammar al-Qaddafi—are also opposed to democracy.

This alternative—an implicit or declared policy of stopping Islamist movements before they rise to power—could also realize the West's greatest fears: unity of the diverse and disparate Islamist groups into an anti-Western force and the use of extremist and terrorist tactics. Finally, the broader danger is that trying to obstruct Islamists will, in turn, lead to a new East-West divide with far deeper passions—and a bloody history—behind it.

The Islamic resurgence clearly presents a challenge to the West. But it also provides enormous opportunity.

FOOTNOTES

¹The various Islamic movements are often called "fundamentalists" in the West, but most are in fact not fundamentalist in their agendas. Fundamentalism generally urges passive adherence to literal reading of scriptures and does not advocate change of the social order, instead focusing on reforming the lives of the individual and family. Most of today's Islamic movements resemble Catholic Liberation theologians who urge active use of original religious doctrine to better the temporal and political lives in a modern world. Islamist or Islamism more accurately describes their forward-looking, interpretive and often even innovative attempts to reconstruct the social order.

²Shiite activism can be traced in part to the tenets and history of the faith. Shiite clerics are invested with the power to interpret God's word to the faithful, while Sunni Muslim clerics are considered guides or advisers—a difference analogous to the Catholic and Protestant sects. The Shia are also more easily mobilized because the seventh-century schism that led them to break from the Sunni was based on fighting injustice.

³The two-week seizure of the Grand Mosque in Mecca in 1979 and the 1981 assassination of Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat by Sunni Muslim fanatics were two major exceptions.

⁴From a speech given at the Bab el-Qaed mosque during the week of the coup.

⁵Ironically then Vice President Bush helped upgrade relations during a visit to Algeria in 1983, a visit that symbolized the new importance of relations.

⁶The Soviet Union had the fifth-largest Muslim population in the world.

⁷Before the Soviet demise the Islamic Renaissance Party was a loosely knit group of cells based in diverse republics and autonomous provinces with large Muslim populations. With the Soviet breakup, they have become separate parties.

⁸Interviews with representatives of the Islamic Republic party and Alash throughout Central Asia.

⁹Sensitive to its 40 percent Russian population, Kazakhstan has observer status.

¹⁰The exceptions are countries where it has been imposed, such as Japan after World War II.

SENATE COMMITTEE MEETINGS

Title IV of Senate Resolution 4, agreed to by the Senate on February 4, 1977, calls for establishment of a system for a computerized schedule of all meetings and hearings of Senate committees, subcommittees, joint committees, and committees of conference. This title requires all such committees to notify the Office of the Senate Daily Digest—designated by the Rules Committee—of the time, place, and purpose of the meetings, when scheduled, and any cancellations or changes in the meetings as they occur.

As an additional procedure along with the computerization of this information, the Office of the Senate Daily Digest will prepare this information for printing in the Extensions of Remarks section of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on Monday and Wednesday of each week.

Meetings scheduled for Tuesday, June 15, 1993, may be found in the Daily Digest of today's RECORD.

MEETINGS SCHEDULED

JUNE 16

9:00 a.m.

Labor and Human Resources

Business meeting, to mark up S. 919, to authorize funds to establish a Corporation for National Service, enhance opportunities for national service, and provide national service educational awards to persons participating in such service, and S. 636, to revise the Public Health Service Act to permit individuals to have freedom of access to certain medical clinics and facilities, and to consider pending nominations.

SD-430

9:30 a.m.

Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry

Business meeting, to consider recommendations which it will make to the Committee on the Budget with respect to spending reductions and revenue increases to meet reconciliation expenditures as imposed by H. Con. Res. 64, setting forth the congressional budget for the United States Government.

SR-332

Energy and Natural Resources

Business meeting, to consider pending calendar business.

SD-366

Environment and Public Works

Clean Water, Fisheries and Wildlife Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed legislation authorizing funds for the Federal Water Pollution Control Act.

SD-406

Governmental Affairs

Federal Services, Post Office, and Civil Service Subcommittee

To hold hearings to examine performance in the Federal Government, focusing on bureaucracy, rising costs, and the use of private contractors.

SD-342

Indian Affairs

Business meeting, to mark up S. 293, to provide for a National Native American Veterans' Memorial, S. 654, to authorize additional funds for the Indian Environmental General Assistance Program Act of 1992, and S. 521, to assist the development of tribal judicial systems; to be followed by continued hearings on the proposed "Indian Fish and Wildlife Enhancement Act."

SR-485

9:45 a.m.

Joint Organization of Congress

To resume hearings to examine congressional reform proposals.

S-5, Capitol

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations
Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary
Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1994 for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration and the National Institute of Standards and Technology, Department of Commerce.

S-146, Capitol

Finance

Business meeting, to consider recommendations which it will make to the Committee on the Budget with respect to spending reductions and revenue increases to meet reconciliation expenditures as imposed by H. Con. Res. 64, setting forth the congressional budget for the United States Government.

SD-215

Foreign Relations

International Economic Policy, Trade,
Oceans and Environment Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed legislation authorizing funds for fiscal year 1994 for foreign assistance programs, focusing on security assistance in the post-Cold War era.

SD-419

Judiciary

To hold hearings on the nominations of Frank Hunger, of Mississippi, and Eleanor Acheson, of Massachusetts, each to be an Assistant Attorney General, Department of Justice.

SD-226

2:00 p.m.

Armed Services

Military Readiness and Defense Infrastructure Subcommittee

To resume hearings on proposed legislation authorizing funds for fiscal year 1994 for the Department of Defense and to review the future years defense program, focusing on operation and maintenance programs and the Defense Business Operations Fund.

SR-232A

Armed Services

Nuclear Deterrence, Arms Control and Defense Intelligence Subcommittee

To continue hearings on proposed legislation authorizing funds for fiscal year 1994 for the Department of Defense and the future years defense program, focusing on the costs of implementation of arms control treaties and the On-Site Inspection Agency budget request.

SR-222

Foreign Relations

East Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee

To hold hearings to examine the situation in Cambodia after the election.

SD-419

2:30 p.m.

Energy and Natural Resources

Public Lands, National Parks and Forests Subcommittee

To hold hearings on S. 294, to formulate a program for the research, interpretation, and preservation of various aspects of colonial New Mexico history, S. 310, to revise title V of P.L. 96-550, designating the Chaco Cultural Archaeological Protection Sites, S. 313, to revise the San Juan Basin Wilderness Protection Act of 1984 to designate additional lands as wilderness and to establish the Fossil Forest Research Natural Area, S. 643 and H.R. 38, to establish the Jemez National Recreation Area in New Mexico, S. 836, to revise the National Trails System Act to provide for a study of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, S. 983, to study the El Camino Real Para Los Texas for potential addition to the National Trails System, S. 1049 and H.R. 698, to protect protect Lechuguilla Cave and other resources and values in and adjacent to Carlsbad National Park, and H.R. 843, to withdraw certain lands located in the Cornado National Forest from the mining and mineral leasing laws of the United States.

SD-366

9:30 a.m.

Armed Services

To resume hearings on proposed legislation authorizing funds for fiscal year 1994 for the Department of Defense and the future years defense program, focusing on DOD plans for maintaining combat readiness and the potential impact of budget reductions in fiscal year 1994.

SH-216

Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs

Securities Subcommittee

To hold hearings on private securities litigation.

SD-538

Governmental Affairs

To hold hearings to examine Environmental Protection Agency contract management problems.

SD-342

10:00 a.m.

Environment and Public Works

Superfund, Recycling, and Solid Waste Management Subcommittee

To hold hearings on S. 773, to require the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency to establish a program to encourage voluntary environmental cleanup of facilities to foster their economic redevelopment.

SD-406

Foreign Relations

Terrorism, Narcotics and International Operations Subcommittee

To resume hearings on proposed legislation authorizing funds for fiscal years 1994 and 1995 for foreign assistance programs of the Department of State, focusing on international broadcasting and public diplomacy.

SD-419

Joint Organization of Congress

To continue hearings to examine congressional reform proposals, focusing on the administration of House and Senate offices.

S-5, Capitol

2:00 p.m.

Energy and Natural Resources

Public Lands, National Parks and Forests Subcommittee

To hold hearings on pending legislation.

SD-366

Foreign Relations

To resume hearings on the Treaty Between the United States and the Russian Federation on Further Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (START II Treaty) (Treaty Doc. 103-1).

SD-419

Ethics Study Commission

To resume hearings on reforming the process the Senate uses to investigate

and decide on alleged ethical misconduct by Senators.

SR-253

2:30 p.m.

Armed Services

Defense Technology, Acquisition, and Industrial Base Subcommittee

To resume hearings on proposed legislation authorizing funds for fiscal year 1994 for the Department of Defense and the future years defense program, focusing on manufacturing technology.

SR-222

Select on Intelligence

To hold closed hearings on intelligence matters.

SH-219

JUNE 18

9:30 a.m.

Appropriations

Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education Subcommittee

To hold hearings to examine waste, fraud, and abuse in the Government, and ways of streamlining Government.

SD-192

10:00 a.m.

Foreign Relations

To hold hearings on the nomination of Christopher Finn, of New York, to be Executive Vice President of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, United States International Development Cooperation Agency.

SD-419

JUNE 21

9:30 a.m.

Appropriations

Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1994 for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and related agencies.

SD-192

1:30 p.m.

Appropriations

Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education Subcommittee

To continue hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1994 for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and related agencies.

SD-192

JUNE 22

9:30 a.m.

Indian Affairs

To hold hearings on S. 925, to reform the accounting and management processes of the Native American Trust Fund.

SR-485

2:00 p.m.

Joint Organization of Congress

To resume hearings to examine congressional reform proposals, focusing on legislative and executive relations.

H-5, Capitol

JUNE 23

9:30 a.m.

Armed Services

To resume hearings on proposed legislation authorizing funds for fiscal year 1994 for the Department of Defense and the future years defense program, focusing on the defense conversion and reinvestment program.

SH-216

Energy and Natural Resources

Business meeting, to consider pending calendar business.

SD-366

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations

Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1994 for the Office of National Drug Control Policy and the General Services Administration.

SD-116

Veterans' Affairs

To hold hearings on proposed legislation relating to the Veterans Administration's health care programs.

SR-418

JUNE 24

9:30 a.m.

Energy and Natural Resources

Public Lands, National Parks and Forests Subcommittee

To hold hearings on S. 208, to reform the concessions policies of the National Park Service.

SD-366

Rules and Administration

To hold hearings on S. 716, to require that all Federal lithographic printing be performed using ink made from vegetable oil.

SR-301

10:00 a.m.

Indian Affairs

To hold hearings on the President's proposed budget request for fiscal year

1994 for Indian programs within the Department of Education and the Administration for Native Americans.

SR-485

Joint Organization of Congress

To resume hearings to examine congressional reform proposals, focusing on legislative and executive relations.

S-5, Capitol

1:30 p.m.

Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry

Agricultural Research, Conservation, Forestry and General Legislation Subcommittee

To hold hearings to examine the Administration's below-cost timber sale policy.

SR-332

JUNE 29

9:30 a.m.

Energy and Natural Resources

To hold oversight hearings to examine the Administration's program for meeting the stabilization goals for greenhouse gases and the ongoing work on the National Action Plan.

SD-366

10:00 a.m.

Joint Organization of Congress

To resume hearings to examine congressional reform proposals.

H-5, Capitol

2:00 p.m.

Joint Organization of Congress

To continue hearings to examine congressional reform proposals, focusing on legislative and judicial relations.

H-5, Capitol

JUNE 30

9:30 a.m.

Energy and Natural Resources

Business meeting, to consider pending calendar business.

SD-366

JULY 1

10:00 a.m.

Joint Organization of Congress

To resume hearings to examine congressional reform proposals.

S-5, Capitol

2:00 p.m.

Indian Affairs

To hold hearings on S. 1021, to assure religious freedom to Native Americans.

SR-485

CANCELLATIONS

JUNE 16

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations

Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1994 for the Office of National Drug Control Policy.

SD-116